



# MAKERS AND STATESMEN

*being a reprint of*

## MAKERS OF INDIA

by

H. G. RAWLINSON

AND

## FOUR MODERN STATESMEN

by

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*with notes by*

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## ASOKA MAURYA

IN the fifth century before Christ, ~~there arose~~ in Eastern India the mighty empire of Magadha, with its capital at Pataliputra, not far from the modern city of Patna. In 325 B.C., a young man named Chandragupta was banished by the reigning king. He fled to the Punjab, where he met the great Greek Emperor Alexander. After Alexander's departure, he returned and stirred up a rebellion among the people of Magadha, and, with the aid of a minister named Chanakya, he overthrew the monarch and had himself made king. He was very fond of the Greeks, and married a Greek princess. There was always a Greek ambassador in the Court, and in this way India became acquainted with the civilization of the West.

Chandragupta made Pataliputra into a splendid city. It was surrounded by a deep moat, which drained into the river Son. Behind the moat was a wall of wooden logs, for stone was very little used in those days. There were drawbridges, gates and towers at regular intervals. Inside the walls the city was well laid out, with wide, straight roads, temples and market places. The bazaars were filled with silks, muslins, brocades, steel weapons, drugs and perfumes, ivory work,

jewellery, and gold and silver ornaments. They were thronged with merchants and travellers from all parts of the world. A special board of officers, like the municipality of these days, controlled the trade and the affairs of the city. It fixed rates of wages, stamped the weights and measures, and regulated prices. Any merchant who tried to sell old goods as new was severely punished. Another board saw that the streets were kept clean, and arranged for putting out fires. The people were prosperous and contented. There were theatres and racecourses, and there were plenty of amusements in the shape of plays, dancing, horse and chariot racing, and fights between wild animals. On festivals, the streets were illuminated very much as they are at Divali to-day. The citizens loved gaily coloured clothes, and they lived chiefly on rice. Women were well treated, and though the right of *Suttee* was practised, it was voluntary. Greek travellers said that the Hindus were noted for their truthfulness and honesty. No Indian was ever convicted of lying, and it was not necessary to have witnesses for legal documents. Houses were left unguarded, and in the whole of Chandra-gupta's army, there were no convictions for thefts of over 100 rupees.

In the centre of the city was the Royal Palace. It stood in the midst of a spacious park, full of rare trees, with peacocks, deer, and other birds and animals. There were many lakes, stocked with sacred fish. The palace was built of wood, and the

pillars were overlaid with plates of gold and silver, beautifully engraved. The King worked very hard; he rose at dawn, and after saying his prayers he saw his ministers, and then went to the hall of audience where he heard complaints. He was a very strict ruler, and many attempts were made to murder him. In order to avoid this, he never slept twice in the same bed, and he was constantly surrounded by a guard of Amazons or female warriors, who had orders to cut down anyone who approached too close.

On the occasion of religious festivals, the king, surrounded by his guards, went in procession through the city. He was followed by hosts of attendants in holiday clothes, carrying gold and copper vessels set with precious stones. Others bore rich robes, or led tame beasts, such as leopards, lions, buffaloes and elephants, or carried rare birds in gilded cages. After a long and prosperous reign, Chandragupta retired from the world and became a Jain monk, leaving the crown to his son Bindusara, who also was a great conqueror.

Asoka, who succeeded to the throne in 273 B.C., ruled at first very much in the same way as his father and grandfather. He had a vast army, consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry, 600,000 men in all. The Indian bowmen were particularly skilful, and they could pierce an iron shield with their arrows. In 261 B.C. Asoka set out to conquer the last remaining independent kingdom in northern India. This was Kalinga or

Orissa, a wild, wooded country on the east coast, between the Godaverī and Mahanadī rivers. The Orissans loved their independence, and fought fiercely for it. Asoka's troops behaved with great cruelty; 125,000 people were taken prisoners, 100,000 were slain, and many times that number were rendered homeless. No mercy was shown, and neither Brahmins, women, old people nor little children were spared.

Just at that time, Asoka made the acquaintance of a Buddhist teacher, named Upagupta. Upagupta instructed him in the teaching of the Lord Buddha; and especially he pointed out to him the doctrine of *Ahimsa* or harmlessness; it was above all things wrong to take life, whether of men or of animals. Asoka was at once filled with remorse at the thought of what his armies had done in Orissa, and he vowed that he would never go to war again. In future, the war-drum would sound no more in the land. The only drum would be that which proclaimed the Dhamma or Law of Piety. 'If a hundredth, nay a thousandth part of the persons who were then slain, carried away captive, or done to death, were now to suffer the same fate, it would be a matter of remorse to His Majesty,' he declared.

As time went on, Asoka became more and more strict. He actually took the yellow robes of a Buddhist monk, though he still remained Emperor. He was determined that all his people should hear the teaching of the Buddha. 'Everywhere in my

dominions, the Commissioners and District Officers every five years must proceed on circuit, not only to execute their ordinary duties, but to give instruction in the Law.' In order that the people might understand, edicts were engraved in places where they would be most likely to attract the attention of passers-by.

The Law, as taught by the Emperor to his people, was quite simple to understand. True religion, he said, consisted in observing four great rules : honouring one's father and mother ; liberality to friends, relations, holy men and Brahmins ; abstinence from the slaughter of any living creature ; and kindness to slaves and servants. ' What is the Law of Piety ? ' he asks. ' It lies in good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness and purity.' Above all things, men must observe strict religious toleration. ' A man must not revere his own religion and condemn that of his neighbour. Other people's beliefs deserve respect for one reason or another.'

The Emperor practised what he preached. His life was that of the ordinary monk or *Bhikkhū* ; he gave up the splendours and luxuries of the Court, as the Lord Buddha had done before him, and contented himself with a single yellow robe, a needle to mend it, a razor to shave his head, a strainer lest he should destroy life in his drinking water, and a begging bowl. In the eleventh year of his reign, he stopped the royal hunts, and forbade animal sacrifices. Asoka never spared himself.



‘I must work for the public benefit,’ he said. ‘For what do I toil? For the discharge of my debt to all living beings, so that I may make them happy in this world, and sure of heaven in the next.’ Trees were planted and wells dug at roadsides, resthouses and hospitals were erected for man and beast. The Buddhist monasteries provided a liberal education for rich and poor. Especial measures were taken for the protection of the poor jungle tribes, who were often treated by high caste Hindus as outcasts. Another merciful act on the part of the great Emperor was in the treatment of prisoners. Criminals were released on various occasions, and those under sentence of death were given a respite of several days, during which holy men visited them and prepared their souls for the next world.

Asoka was not content merely to preach his religion in his own country. He was anxious to spread it all over the world. Buddhist missionaries went, not only to every part of India, but to his Greek friends in the distant West. To Ceylon especially, he sent his son and daughter, Mahinda and Sanghamitta, with a branch of the sacred Bodhi tree under which the Lord Buddha was sitting when He attained Buddhahood. The Buddhist missionaries received a warm welcome from the Sinhalese King Tissa, and he and all his Court were converted. The branch of the Bodhi tree was planted at Anuradhapura, the capital, where it still grows. Buddhism, long dead in the

land of India, still flourishes in the beautiful island of Ceylon. The missionaries brought with them the culture of their own land, especially the arts of stone-carving and irrigation, and in a lovely hillside are still shown Mahinda's cell and tomb.

In 249 B.C., the twenty-third year of his reign, Asoka, accompanied by his teacher Upagupta, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Places. He visited the Lumbini Garden, where the Blessed One was born, and Kapilavastu where He spent His boyhood. From there he visited the Deer Garden at Benares where He preached His first sermon, and 'set the wheel of the Law rolling', Sravasti where He spent so many years, Gaya where under the tree He received His call, and, lastly, Kusinagara where He attained Nirvana and was cremated. At all these places Asoka erected lofty stone pillars with lion capitals, and colleges for the study and teaching of the Law of Piety. On his return, he called a Council which drew up a correct list of the Buddhist Scriptures.

Asoka was a great builder. Formerly only wood was employed by Indian architects; Asoka introduced the use of stone, and his workmen learnt to carve and polish stone pillars in a most exquisite manner. All over the country were Buddhist monasteries, and the yellow-robed monks worked among the people, educating them and preaching to them, and nursing them when they were sick. In order to accommodate them during the rainy season, spacious cave-dwellings, known as Vihâras,

were excavated out of the hillsides. The walls were often decorated with paintings representing scenes in the <sup>life</sup> of the Buddha. Stupas or <sup>to build</sup> mounds were constructed to hold relics of the Master; these were surrounded by stone railings with gateways exquisitely carved. Shortly before his death, Asoka retired from the world and left his kingdom to his two grandsons. He passed away in 232 B.C. His reign is the brightest spot in the history of the world, and there is no doubt that he was many centuries in advance of his time. To-day, when the world is full of bloodshed and violence, it is sad to think that twenty-one centuries ago there was actually a great ruler who tried to govern his vast Empire, stretching from one end of India to the other, without an army and without the use of force. Asoka was in this respect the greatest king that the world has known.

# SRI HARSHA OF KANAUJ

## HARSHA VARDHANA

At the end of the sixth century after Christ, Northern India was in a very disturbed state. It was broken up into a number of small kingdoms, and the country was being ravaged by the Huns, fierce Mongolian horsemen from Central Asia. At that time a Raja named Prabhakara Vardhana was ruling at the holy city of Thanesar, not far from where Delhi now stands. He had two sons, Rajya Vardhana and Harsha, and a daughter named Rajyasri. The boys were educated as all princes were at that time. They learned to ride and wield the sword and shoot with the bow. The girl was taught singing, dancing and other feminine arts, and in due time was wedded to Prince Grahavarman, son of the ruler of a neighbouring state.

One day news arrived that the Huns were once more ravaging the land. The king was growing old, but he told his elder son Rajya to put on his armour and drive out the intruders. Harsha was too young to take the field, but followed at a distance with the cavalry. He spent his time in shooting lions, tigers and boars in the neighbouring jungles. While he was thus engaged, a messenger

rode up at full speed, and, jumping from his sweating horse, announced that the old king was dangerously ill with fever. Harsha at once set out for the capital, and for three days did not even stop to take food. He arrived just before his father died, and at once sent couriers on swift camels to summon his brother. Rajya Vardhana at last returned, his arms still wrapped in the long white bandages which covered the arrow-wounds he had received in combat with the Huns. The two brothers were devoted friends, and each wanted the other to succeed. But of course the elder son had to ascend the throne, and was proclaimed Raja.

Just at that moment, fresh bad tidings arrived. The wicked king of Malwa had invaded the territory of their brother-in-law, Prince Grahavarman, and slain him, and had carried off their sister in fetters. Rajya Vardhana set out at full speed to punish the murderer, leaving Harsha behind to manage the kingdom. Harsha chafed greatly at this, and could scarcely make the time pass: he was like 'a wild elephant which had strayed from the herd'. One day, as he sat in the audience chamber, a cavalry officer entered, covered with dust and greatly dejected. He announced that Rajya Vardhana had routed his foes with ease, but afterwards, having been lured to a conference by the king of the Gaudas, weaponless, confiding and alone, he was treacherously put to death. Harsha now had a double task, to avenge his brother's death and to rescue his sister. He

assembled a great army, and swore an oath 'by the dust of his father's feet', that unless in a few days he cleared the earth of the Gaudás, and made it resound with the clank of the fetters on their ankles, he would hurl himself on a funeral pyre 'as a moth does on an oil-fed flame'. ५८५

As the young king was riding with his cavalry through the Malwa forest, he met a party of beggars who told him that on that very morning they had seen a beautiful princess going to her funeral pyre, accompanied by her maidens. They begged him to go and prevent her from carrying out her purpose. Harsha galloped at full speed to the spot. As he approached an open glade, he heard some faint but piteous cries, and found that it was none other than Rajyasri, on the very point of entering the flames. He snatched her away and carried her to the foot of a tree, presently some water was brought, and she recovered. Brother and sister were overjoyed at meeting once more, and they returned to the capital, leaving the commander-in-chief, Bhandi, to carry out the task of punishing the wicked Gaudas.

Harsha, however, was not content to stay idle for very long. He was determined to make himself Emperor of the whole of India. For the next six years he went from east to west, subduing all who refused to obey him. During all these years, the elephants were not unharnessed and the soldiers did not take off their armour. But there was one part of the country which he was unable

to enter. This was the Maharashtra or country of the Marathas, ruled over at that time by a king, known as Pulakesi, of the Chalukya clan. The Marathas were even then famous for their valour. We are told they had hundreds of war elephants, which in time of battle were made drunk with wine. Then, rushing forward in a mass, the elephants would trample down all before them, and no enemy could stand up to them. Another custom of the Marathas was, when a general lost a war, to present him with women's clothes. The general was so ashamed that he was driven to seek death for himself in battle. Be this as it may, Harsha could not advance over the Vindhya mountains, as they are covered with dense jungle, where his chariots were of little use. On his return, Harsha determined to build himself a new capital at Kanauj on the Ganges. He made here a very handsome city, four miles long and a mile broad. It had lofty buildings, tanks full of lotuses and sacred fish, and parks and gardens for the citizens. There were over one hundred Buddhist monasteries and many Hindu temples.

It was a very common thing at this time for pilgrims from China to come to India, in order to visit the places sacred to the memory of the Lord Buddha. The most celebrated of these was a learned Chinaman of the name of Huien Tsang, or Yuan Chuang, 'the Master of the Law'. He came all the way from China across the Gobi desert, and then over the mountain passes into North-West

India. On his journey, he nearly lost his life many times ; he almost died of thirst, his caravan was attacked by brigands, and he had to cross the Himalaya mountains by passes many thousands of feet high, often blocked by snow and ice and rushing torrents. He reached India in A.D. 630 and stayed for fifteen years

Huien Tsang wrote a very interesting account of Harsha's Empire. He says that it was divided into a number of provinces, each with its governor and officials. But the king saw personally all that was going on. He was a tireless worker, and the day was too short for him. Except in the rainy season, he toured from one end of his kingdom to the other, never staying long in one place. While on tour, he lived very simply in huts made of grass and bamboo, which were burnt after his departure. Wherever he went he erected alms-houses, where food and drink were provided free for travellers and poor persons. The laws were very mild, as the people were upright and honourable, and faithful to their oaths and promises. There was no capital punishment ; the murderer or robber was not put to death, but driven out of the city and left to wander in the jungle, shunned by his fellowmen, until he died. The taxes were very light, and much of the money was used for education, for rewarding learned men, and for religious purposes. The soil was fertile, and large quantities of grain and fruit were grown. The people lived mostly on wheaten cakes, parched



grain, *ghr*, sugar and milk, but men of the warrior caste ate fish and venison also. The cow could not be killed for food. Gold and silver coins and cowrie shells were used for money.

Huien Tsang had come to India principally in order to study, and for this purpose he went to the great Buddhist university at Nalanda in Bihar. It was a handsome building, and there were as many as 10,000 students from all parts of Asia. Some scholars gave up the whole of their lives to learning, and refused honours and rewards of every kind. Many went on with their studies until they were thirty years old, and then, their minds being settled and their education finished, they went into government employment, and the first thing they did was to reward their teachers. The discipline was very strict. For a slight fault, the student was condemned to complete silence for several days. For a grave fault he was expelled, and this was considered a terrible disgrace. Those who were expelled wandered about the roads, and no one would have anything to do with them. At the end of his time, the student was examined by his teachers. If he did well, he was mounted on an elephant covered with precious jewels, and led in triumph round the college. If, on the other hand, he failed to answer the questions put to him, his fellow-students pelted him with mud, and threw him into a ditch. Huien Tsang studied for five years at Nalanda, and once a professor from a rival university challenged him to a public

debate. 'If anyone can defeat me,' he said, 'I will give him my head as a proof of his victory.' Hui<sup>uen</sup> Tsang overcame him in argument, but he spared his life and made him his disciple.

Hui<sup>uen</sup> Tsang was staying as the guest of the king of Assam, when the Emperor heard of his arrival. Harsha was very anxious to meet learned men from all parts of the world. He ordered the Raja of Assam to come at once to his camp, bringing his guest with him. When Hui<sup>uen</sup> Tsang arrived at the royal tent, he found the Emperor seated on his throne; by his side was his widowed sister Rajyasri, who was a very learned lady. The Emperor asked Hui<sup>uen</sup> Tsang many questions about the doctrine of the Buddha, and was greatly pleased with his answers. Finally, he asked the Master of the Law to accompany him to his capital. Hui<sup>uen</sup> Tsang gives an interesting account of the journey. Harsha and the king of Assam travelled on either bank of the Ganges. A vast crowd accompanied them, on foot and in boats, and before them went musicians on elephants, beating drums and sounding trumpets.

The two kings entered the capital dressed to represent the gods Indra and Brahma. They held a canopy over a golden figure of the Buddha, which was ~~carried~~ carried on a splendid elephant. On arriving at the city they found that a great debating hall had been constructed, with a life-sized image of Buddha. A feast was held, and after it was finished, Hui<sup>uen</sup> Tsang explained the Buddhist

doctrines to the people assembled there. Many learned men wished to dispute with the Chinese teacher, and some became very angry with him. Thereupon the Emperor proclaimed that if anyone should hurt the Master of the Law in any way, he should be beheaded, and if anyone spoke against him, he should have his tongue cut out. And so, we are told, 'the followers of error withdrew, and there was none to enter the discussion'.

Many of the Hindus were enraged because Harsha was a patron of the Buddhists, and one day they set light to a part of the palace. When the Emperor went to see what had happened, a man rushed out and tried to stab him. Harsha seized the man, and asked him the reason for his act. The man replied that he had been hired by some Brahmins, who had also set fire to the roof of the hall with burning arrows. Five hundred men were arrested, but only the ring-leaders were punished. The rest were banished beyond the borders.

On another occasion, Hui-en Tsang witnessed a great religious festival, known as the Salvation Festival, which was held at Prayaga, the sandy plain at the meeting place of the Ganges and Jumna, where the Khumba Mela is now held every year. Buddhist, Jain and Hindu holy men were invited, together with the poor, the orphans and the bereaved, to receive the royal charity. Vast crowds of people had assembled there. Ten thousand Buddhist monks each received a gold

coin, a pearl, and a set of cotton robes. After a month, the Royal Treasury was quite empty, and nothing remained except the horses, elephants and weapons necessary for maintaining order and protecting the Empire. Harsha himself had given away to the poor all his jewels, ornaments and robes, and he had to borrow an old, second-hand garment from his sister Rajyasri.

Harsha's end was a sad one. He sent a Brahmin envoy to his friend the Emperor of China. The Emperor in his turn sent a mandarin to Harsha's court at Thanesar. He was about to return home, loaded with presents, when Harsha was murdered by his minister Arjuna. It was said that the Emperor had fallen under the influence of evil counsellors, and had become cruel and superstitious, but the truth was that the Hindu priests were jealous of the favour he showed to the Buddhists. Huien Tsang says that, during fifty years of his reign, Harsha's face never flushed with anger, and his hands never hurt a living thing. Wild beasts became friendly with men, because no one ever injured them. Harsha was not only a good ruler and a pious man, but he was a learned writer, and was the author of several dramas. He will be remembered, along with Asoka, as one of the best and noblest of the Emperors of ancient India.

## AKBAR, THE GREAT MOGUL

JALAL-UD-DIN AKBAR, the greatest of the Mogul Emperors, was born on 23 November, 1542, at the little town of Umarkot in the Sind desert. At that time his father, the Emperor Humayun, was flying from his enemies, the Afghan nobles, who had driven him from his throne. The consequence was that the young prince received very little education. He never learned to read or write; he preferred riding and shooting and playing polo, and he soon found that he possessed a remarkable power of taming wild animals, especially horses and elephants, which nobody else dared to approach. But this does not mean that Akbar was a stupid lad. He had a wonderful memory, and learned by heart long passages from his favourite authors, the mystic Sufi poets, Hafiz and Jalal-ud-din Rumi. He knew a great deal about birds, beasts and plants, and he had a real bent for mechanics. One of his great passions was for art, and he loved painting and music.

Akbar's father remained an exile in Persia and Afghanistan until 1554, when he managed to raise an army and overthrow his rivals. But a short time after his return to Delhi in January 1556 he died from the effects of a fall, and young Akbar,

not yet fourteen years old, found himself Emperor of India. His position was a difficult one. The real power was in the hands of his tutor, a powerful nobleman named Bairam Khan, and a clever Hindu of the name of Hemu took the opportunity to stir up a dangerous rebellion. Hemu seized Agra and Delhi, and proclaimed himself as the Raja Vikramaditya, descendant of the ancient Rajput kings. But Bairam Khan defeated him, on 5 November, 1556, at Panipat, on the field where the fortunes of India have been so often decided. Hemu was wounded in the eye by an arrow and brought captive to Akbar. Bairam Khan wished Akbar to put his prisoner to death, but the boy chivalrously refused to do this, and Hemu was killed by his attendants.

For the next four years, Akbar was under the control of Bairam Khan and other courtiers, including his mother and foster-mother, and a son of the latter, named Adham Khan. But after that time he was determined to rule for himself. Bairam Khan was banished. Adham Khan, a brutal and insolent man, he knocked down with a blow of his fist, and ordered the attendants to throw him over the battlements of the palace. He treated his mother with respect and kindness, but warned her never to interfere in politics again. Though Akbar was only eighteen, he realized that he could not rule India without the support of the people. His ancestors had been strangers in the land; he determined to win over

the Hindus, especially the gallant Rajputs, who were justly called 'the sword and buckler of Hindustan'. With this in mind, he married, in 1562, a Rajput princess, the daughter of Raja Bihar Mal of Jaipur. After this, nearly all the Rajputs made alliances with him, save the proud Rana of Mewar of the Sisodia clan, who claimed descent from the Sun God himself.

In 1567, Akbar determined to teach the Rana a lesson. In October he laid siege to his capital, the fortress of Chitor. For four months it resisted every assault, but at last Akbar himself managed to kill the brave Rajput commander, Jaimal, with a lucky shot from his musket. After this, the Rajput princesses, headed by the senior Rani, marched in a procession to the underground dungeons beneath, and rather than fall into the hands of the Mussulman conqueror, gave themselves to the flames by the terrible rite known as *jauhar*. Then the garrison threw open the gates, and rushing out, sword in hand, died almost to a man. Chitor was laid waste and remains uninhabited to this day. It is said that a terrible curse rests upon the scene of this tragedy. The gates of the fortress and the kettledrums which used to summon the Rajput clans to war were carried off in triumph to Agra. But the young heir to the throne, Amar Singh, never submitted. He escaped to a remote stronghold in the Rajputana desert, where he held out till his death.

Up to this time, Akbar had spent much of his

time at Agra. But he had no children. At Sikri, about twenty miles away, dwelt the famous saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti, who promised that Akbar should have a son. In August 1569, the Jaipur princess bore him an heir who was named Salim, and afterwards became the Emperor Jahangir. Akbar determined to build himself a new capital on this lucky spot, and he named it Fatehpur Sikri, or the 'City of Victory'. He built here a magnificent tomb of white and black marble, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, in honour of the holy man.

In 1572, Akbar set out to conquer the fertile province of Gujarat. In this campaign, Akbar's life was saved by his gallant Rajput friends, Bhupat Singh and Bhagwan Das. Akbar had pushed ahead with only two hundred horsemen, and after fording a river, he suddenly found himself face to face with a much larger force of hostile cavalry. The Emperor gave the order to charge, and a hand-to-hand fight followed, in very difficult country, cut up by steep banks, narrow lanes and thick cactus hedges. Akbar was attacked by three of the enemy, and might well have been killed; but Bhagwan Das sent a spear-thrust through the leading man, while Bhupat Singh drove off the other two. Meanwhile, the main body had come up and the enemy was routed; but Bhupat Singh lost his life. The Sultan Muzaffar III fled, and was caught hiding in a field. The rich city of Ahmedabad opened its gates, and the ports of Cambay and Surat were taken. This gave Akbar a



much needed outlet to the Arabian Sea, and greatly increased the trade and prosperity of his lands. Surat was very important, as it was the chief port from which Muslims sailed when they were going on the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca.

In the following year, in the middle of the hot weather, Gujarat rebelled, and the Imperial garrison at Ahmedabad was closely besieged. In spite of the heat, Akbar, with a tiny force of 3,000 horse-men, raced across the Rajputana desert, covering six hundred miles in eleven days. The rebels were taken completely by surprise and fled in such a panic, as it was said, that their opponents 'pulled the arrows out of the quivers on their backs, and used their own weapons against them'. Akbar charged 'like a tiger' at the head of his men, and when his horse was shot under him, he mounted another. The rebellion was stamped out, and Gujarat needed no third lesson.

On his return, Akbar commemorated his victory by erecting at Fatehpur Sikri a noble gateway of red sandstone known as the Buland Darawaza, which is one of the most striking monuments in the whole of India. Around the doorway are two inscriptions. One recounts the Emperor's achievements; the other reads,

Jesus Son of Mary says, '*The world is a bridge ;  
pass over it, but build no house upon it.*'

In 1574, Akbar rounded off his conquests by overrunning Bengal. He was now master of the

whole of Hindustan from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

But Akbar was no mere conqueror. He determined that his Empire should be organized on the best possible lines. He divided it into twelve provinces, each ruled by a Subadar or Governor, who was always a member of the Royal family. Under the Subadar were Mansabdars or officials who were classified according to the number of horsemen they contributed to the Imperial Army. The Mansabdar was both a military and a civil officer. He was responsible for maintaining law and order, and collecting the revenue. He also tried criminal cases: civil disputes were settled by the Kazi or judge. Towns were governed by an officer known as the Kotwal. The Emperor took care that none of the offices under the Crown should become hereditary. He could remove at will and punish any of the officials who abused his powers. The Emperor was assisted in his work by four Ministers, and every day he appeared at the *Jharoka* or Window of Audience, where he received petitions from any of his subjects, high or low, who had suffered any grievance or wrong.

The chief source of revenue in India has always been the land. In order to prevent the peasants from being unjustly taxed, Akbar employed Todar Mal, a clever Hindu from Oudh. Todar Mal carried out a survey of all the land in the Empire, and made an assessment of the amount to be paid. This was based on the area, the nature of the crop,

and the fertility of the soil; the amount to be paid was calculated at one-third of the average produce, and had to be rendered in cash. Thus the farmers knew exactly what they had to pay, and extortion on the part of the officials was well nigh impossible. A number of dues vexatious to Hindus were abolished, including the *jizya* or poll tax on non-Muslims, and the tax on pilgrims going to the great Hindu shrines such as Jaganath in Orissa.

One of the chief causes of trouble in India has always been the question of religion. In the past, there had been teachers like Nanak and Kabir who tried to find something in common between Hinduism and Islam. The Sufi poets, on whom Akbar had been brought up, taught that different religions are only various ways of worshipping the One God. Akbar must also have learnt a great deal about Hinduism from his Rajput wives and friends. His ambition had always been to bring to a state of real unity the vast empire over which he ruled.

Akbar therefore assembled together learned men of all religions in a great hall, known as the Ibadat Khana or Hall of Worship, where they were to explain their beliefs. There were doctors of the Islamic sects, a Parsee High Priest from Surat named Dastur Meherji Rana, a Jain teacher named Hiravijaya, and two Jesuit missionaries from Goa. The coming of the latter was a very important event in the Emperor's life. The population of the capital was amazed to see these simple priests,

clad in plain black, amid the Mogul courtiers, resplendent in their silken robes and gorgeous jewels. Akbar received them kindly, and accepted as a present a copy of the Bible printed in four languages

The Emperor became greatly attached to his Jesuit friends, and gave them many privileges. He allowed them to build a chapel, and even entrusted them with the education of his son Murad. He spent night after night with them, questioning and debating. On the other hand, the Fathers learnt Persian, and were soon able to translate the Gospels and dispute with the Muslim religious leaders in their own tongue. But the Emperor was never converted to Christianity, though he expressed the profoundest admiration for the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. 'He had the Spirit of God, and neither man nor angel spoke as He spoke,' was one of Akbar's characteristic sayings.

Finally, in 1582, Akbar proclaimed his own creed, which he named the *Din Ilahi*, or Divine Faith. It combined what the Emperor thought to be the essential principles of Christianity, Jainism, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism; in the words of Abul Fazl, 'it had the great advantage of not losing what was good in one religion, while gaining whatever was better in the other. In this way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the people, and security to the Empire'. The Emperor came to be regarded

by the followers of his new Faith as a semi-divine being, and their spiritual guide. Akbar's great experiment did not succeed. The religion which was to have united all, pleased none, and it attracted few outside the royal circle.

Akbar was a great patron of the arts. He was particularly interested in painting. He employed two famous Hindu artists, Daswanath and Basawan, whose works are still treasured by connoisseurs. A whole army of calligraphers was kept at work writing and illuminating the *Akbar Nama*, or chronicle of the Emperor's life, composed by Abul Fazl, and adorning it with illustrations. Translations were made of the Hindu scriptures, that of the *Bhagavad Gita* being the work of Faizi, the poet laureate. At the time of his death, Akbar had a library of 24,000 illuminated manuscripts, valued at many hundreds of thousands of rupees.

Among the foreign visitors to the Court was one little party which passed almost unnoticed at the time. This consisted of three Englishmen, John Newbery, William Leedes and Ralph Fitch, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth. They reached the capital in 1585, after many strange adventures.

The Queen's letter requested that they might be 'honestly intreated and received', in order to start trading operations, 'by which means the mutual and friendly traffic of merchandise on both sides might come'.

The Englishmen were greatly impressed by the

prosperity of the country and the splendour of the buildings of Agra, in comparison with which London appeared like a tiny village. In the bazaars there was 'a great resort of merchandize from Persia and out of India and very much merchandize of silk and cloth and precious stones, both rubies, diamonds and pearls'. Apparently Elizabeth's letter was not considered worthy of a reply: Akbar, if he had heard of the English at all, was probably told by his Portuguese friends that they were a tiny nation inhabiting a distant island in the far north, and quite beneath his notice! It was not till the succeeding reign that the English succeeded in getting permission to start a trading factory at the port of Surat. Leedes obtained a post as a court jeweller, and settled down in the country. Newbery attempted to return by the overland route and disappeared. Only Fitch reached home, after eight years' travel, in the course of which he visited Bengal, Burma and the Malay peninsula. His account of what he had seen led to the foundation of the East India Company.

Meanwhile the Emperor, ever restless and ambitious, was pursuing a series of campaigns, the aim of which was to round off his conquests. In 1581, he learned that his cousin, Mohammed Hakim, had raised the standard of revolt in Kabul, and he hastened to the spot. The mighty host, with its elephants, cavalry and mounted archers, moved forward to the beat of a great drum. The day's march was carefully measured, and every

night an encampment was laid out. In the midst was the Royal Pavilion, painted white and visible for miles around. A long wait followed on the banks of the Indus, while the engineers were busy constructing a bridge of boats over that mighty river, now swollen by violent storms. Soon Peshawar was reached. The next obstacle was the Khyber Pass, through which the engineers had to construct a road; but Akbar's energy overcame every difficulty, and he was soon knocking at the gates of Kabul. Mohammed Hakim thereupon surrendered.

In 1588, trouble again broke out in the Punjab, and Akbar left Fatehpur Sikri, this time for ever. He made his headquarters in Lahore, and from that centre he undertook the conquest of Sind, which gave him command of the mouth of the river Indus. Soon after, he conquered the beautiful vale of Kashmir, which his successor adorned with pleasure gardens now famous throughout the world. Baluchistan and Kandahar were annexed, and only the Deccan remained for him to conquer in order that he might be Padshah of the mightiest Empire in the world. In the Deccan were the independent Muhammadan kingdoms of Ahmednagar and Bijapur, neither of which was willing to acknowledge the Mogul from the north. Ahmednagar was defended by the queen regent, Chand Bibi, who fought at the head of her men in shining armour, her face covered by a silken veil. But in 1600, the plucky queen was killed in a

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local rising and Ahmednagar surrendered. There remained, however, the mighty fortress of Asirgarh in Khandesh, the 'Gibraltar of the East', rising out of the plain to a height of <sup>nine</sup> hundred feet, with its sheer precipices and its triple lines of walls. It was said to have stocks of food and water sufficient to last for ten years. The commandant, an Abyssinian by birth, was old and blind, but a man of great valour. For a year, Abul Fazl carried on the siege with little effect. At length 'some of the officers of the garrison were corrupted' by bribes, and the gates were opened.

The last years of the great Emperor's life were clouded with sorrow. Devoted friends died or were killed in battle, and his children caused him great trouble. His beloved son and heir, Salim, even rebelled against his father, and advanced on Agra with thirty thousand horsemen. Abul Fazl was ordered to bring the young prince to his senses; but Salim hired a ruffian named Bir Singh, who waylaid Abul Fazl and his escort and put them to the sword. Akbar never recovered from the death of the oldest and dearest of his friends. Father and son were afterwards reconciled, but the Emperor was prostrated by the shock. On 22 October, 1605, he fell ill with dysentery. He was only fifty-two, but he was worn out by a life of toil and exertion. Very soon he was too ill to speak; but he made signs to Salim to gird himself with the sword of Humayun, and placed the imperial turban on his head. He died five days later and the funeral



was of the simplest. A gap was broken in the palace walls, and through it the body of the great ruler was carried on the shoulders of Salim and his son Khusru.

Akbar lived in an era of mighty statesmen, Shah Abbas of Persia, Philip II of Spain, Henry IV of France and Elizabeth of England, but in many respects he was head and shoulders above them all. 'He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest monarchs of history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts and magnificent attainments.'

## SIVAJI THE MARATHA

IF you make a journey from Bombay to Poona, you will travel up what are known as the Ghats, a great range of mountains running parallel to the sea, through a wild country covered with jungle, with here and there an ancient fort overlooking the neighbourhood from a rocky height. Finally you will come to a broad plain, stretching for many miles across Central India. This is the Deccan or Maharashtra, the home of the Marathas.

In the seventeenth century, the Marathas were, as they are now, simple and hardy folk, intensely fond of their fields, but when the occasion arose, brave and skilful fighting men. They formed a number of clans, ruled over by chieftains who claimed to be of Rajput descent. At that time, most of the surrounding country was part of the Muhammadan kingdom of Ahmednagar. Many of the chieftains were in the service of the Ahmednagar kings, and among them was a certain Shahji Bhonsle. He was married to a lady of ancient family named Jijabai, and in May 1627, while Shahji was away in Southern India on a military expedition, his son Sivaji was born at the hill fortress of Shivner. Jijabai was a pious Hindu, and she employed as a tutor for her boy a Brahmin of

the name of Dadoji Dondadev. Though he showed little interest in reading or writing, the lad eagerly listened to the ancient stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. He loved to hear of the deeds of the Pandava brothers, of the hero-god Rama and his faithful wife the princess Sita, and their adventures with the demon Ravana. The young Sivaji spent much of his time in the company of the Mavalis, the local hillmen who knew every inch of the country, and who taught him to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to track the wild beast to its lair.

Sivaji thus learnt to love freedom and to hate the idea of a life of luxury as a nobleman at one of the Muslim courts. Above all, he became more and more determined to free his country from Muhammadan rule, and to re-establish the old Hindu Raj. In 1649, when he was only nineteen, he gathered together a small body of followers, and seized the fortress of Torna. Soon after, he managed to pounce upon a convoy of treasure going to the Muhammadan governor of Kalayan, and this gave him the money he so sorely needed for his plans. The Sultan of Bijapur was so angry when he heard about this, that he took Shahji and shut him up in a tiny cell, which he threatened to build up entirely unless Sivaji ceased to stir up trouble in the Deccan. Shahji was released after a time, but Sivaji began to rebel once more, and the Sultan of Bijapur sent an army to capture him.

The Bijapur army was under the command of a

general named Afzal Khan. Afzal Khan set out for the Deccan in September 1659, and he boasted that he would quickly bring back the 'mountain rat' in chains to the Sultan's court. As he marched through the Deccan, Afzal Khan destroyed a number of shrines sacred to the Hindus. Among them were those of the god Vithoba of Pandharpur, dear to all Marathas, and of Amba Bhavani, the goddess of the Bhonsle family. This aroused great indignation, and Sivaji's followers vowed that they would fight to their last drop of blood in order to repel the invader. As the Bijapur army advanced, Sivaji and his small body of men fell back before them through the dense jungle, towards the stronghold of Pratapgarh, which he had built on a rock in a very wild part of the country, not very far from the present hill station of Mahableshwar. Afzal Khan began to be alarmed when he found himself in this wild land, destitute of proper roads, where he was constantly attacked by the Marathas. He therefore made a plan to ask Sivaji to a conference and then arrest him. When Sivaji heard about this, he determined to outwit his enemy. He agreed that a meeting should be held in an open spot not far from Pratapgarh, and here he erected a handsome tent. In the surrounding woods he placed strong bodies of Marathas in ambush, ready to fall upon the foe at the given signal, which was to be the firing of a gun from the walls of the fortress.

Sivaji spent the night in prayer to the goddess

Amba Bhavanī. In the morning, he knelt before his mother and asked her blessing. Under his white robe he wore armour; on his left hand was a terrible weapon, the *Vaghnakh*, or tiger's claws of steel, and at his side hung his trusty Bhavani sword. Afzal Khan came with a few followers and Sivaji went to meet him. When they embraced, Afzal Khan seized Sivaji and tried to drag him away, but Sivaji stabbed him with the tiger's claws and drew his sword and cut him down. At that moment, as had been arranged, a shot rang out from the fortress above, and the Marathas, rushing out from their hiding places, took the Bijapuris completely by surprise. The Muhammadans fled in all directions, and vast spoils, arms, cannon, horses, saddles and money were captured. Sivaji at once stopped the slaughter. He told his men to spare their prisoners. Those who were wounded were well cared for and sent home, each with fresh clothes and a small sum of money.

Sivaji's victory not only gave him the arms and munitions which he so urgently needed, but it brought him great fame. The Marathas began to regard him as their national hero, and thousands joined his army. The Bijapur government sent fresh troops to catch him, and at one time he was besieged in the fortress of Panhala. But he slipped out in the night, and when the Muhammadans pursued him very closely, a gallant officer named Baji Prabhu held the narrow pass at Rangana at the cost of his life, until Sivaji had got safely away.

Soon after this, Sivaji built himself a magnificent fortress at Raigarh, which became his capital. Here the Marathas retired after their plundering expeditions. It soon contained vast quantities of loot, gold mohurs, Spanish dollars, bars of gold, diamonds and pearls and silks, a great armoury and ample stores.

Soon after this Sivaji made peace with Bijapur, but now he found that he had to face a far more dangerous and crafty foe. The Emperor Aurangzeb was determined to conquer the Deccan, and he sent a great army under his uncle Shayista Khan for this purpose. The Marathas gave the Moguls no peace. Every night they swarmed round the baggage, carrying off horses, camels and men, and killing the camp followers. Shayista Khan took up his quarters in Poona, and one night Sivaji and a few bold followers entered the city in a wedding procession. In the middle of the night they suddenly raided Shayista Khan's palace, killing everyone they met. The Mogul general jumped out of his bedroom window, and only just escaped alive. One of Sivaji's followers cut off the general's fingers with his sword. In 1664, Sivaji marched right across Gujarat, and surprised the great port of Surat. The Marathas overran the town, but when they came to the English trading factory they were beaten off. This was the first occasion on which the Marathas came into contact with the English. Sivaji would not allow his troops to harm the Christian missionaries,

because, as he said, ' These *Padres* are good men '. The Moguls sent an army to relieve Surat, but long before it arrived, the Marathas vanished as quickly as they had come, taking with them great quantities of rupees in booty and vast spoils. ✓ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

It proved impossible for Sivaji to hold out for very long against the mighty Mogul armies, and at length he was persuaded by Raja Jai Singh, a powerful Rajput nobleman in the service of the Emperor, to visit Agra and come to terms with Aurangzeb. But when Sivaji arrived at the Mogul capital, he realized that he had been misled. At the Imperial darbar which was held every morning in the Hall of Audience, he was only given a very inferior rank. When he returned to the house which had been assigned to him, he found himself practically a prisoner. Guards were set at the doors, and he was unable to leave. So a plot was made with the aid of his captain Tanaji Malusre. Sivaji had been in the habit of sending huge baskets of sweetmeats to be distributed among the poor. One day it was announced that the Maratha leader was ill with a severe fever. The guard looked into his bedroom, and Sivaji appeared to be asleep there covered with a blanket. But really it was not Sivaji at all, but Hiraji Pharjand; a faithful follower who had consented to take his place. Sivaji and his son Sambhaji had been carried out of the town in the sweetmeat baskets; horses had been got ready, and they were riding as hard as they could for Mathura.

Mathura is a sacred Hindu city, always crowded with pilgrims, *bairagis*, and other holy men. Here Tanaji was waiting for him. Sivaji shaved his beard, stripped off his silken robes, smeared his body with ashes, and soon lost himself in the crowd. His son went with him as his *chela* or disciple. Presently they joined a crowd of pilgrims going to Prayaga or Allahabad, another holy place. From Allahabad, Sivaji went on to Benares, and by this time the Mogul officials had given up looking for him. Slowly he wandered back to the Deccan. One day, as the Princess Jijabai was sitting in the room of her apartments in the castle of Raigarh, looking out on the Deccan and mourning for her lost son, a servant came and said that a holy man was waiting outside. The princess received him, and he fell at her feet. When she asked his business, he stripped off his disguise, and stood before her. It was Sivaji himself!

The news of the return of their hero spread like fire all over the Deccan, and great were the rejoicings among the Marathas. But much work remained to be done. The stronghold of Kondana, overlooking Poona, was still in Mogul hands, and it is said that Jijabai swore an oath not to eat bread or drink water until it was captured. The exploit was entrusted to Tanaji Malusre, popularly known as the Lion, the oldest and bravest of Sivaji's comrades in arms. The undertaking was a desperate one. The fort lies on a flat-topped rock, with sheer precipices fifty feet high on every side. It is



crowned by a strong wall, with towers at intervals. The only approach leads to a huge gate, studded with iron nails and securely barred. The garrison consisted of a thousand picked men under a brave Rajput officer, Udaï Ban.

Tanaji and a few chosen companions set out on a dark, moonless night in February 1670. It was very cold, and the sentries, huddled up in their cloaks, were not keeping good watch. Within, everyone was making merry, for Udaï Ban and his officers thought that they were quite safe. The Marathas crept up to the foot of the rock, and a Mavali managed to climb up and let down a rope-ladder. One by one Tanaji and three hundred Marathas ascended, while the remainder went round to the gateway. The nearest sentry was shot by an arrow, and the Marathas leaped over the wall. Some rushed in and threw open the gate for the rest to enter. By this time, the garrison was aroused, and torches flashed on the shields of the men as they hurriedly assembled. Immediately Tanaji gave the order to charge, and the air was filled with wild cries of *Din ! Din !* and *Har, Har, Mahadev !* as the two forces met in fierce combat. Quarter was neither given nor taken ; Tanaji fell at the head of his men, slain, it is said, in single combat with Udaï Ban. The rest of the garrison was put to the sword, save five hundred badly wounded Rajputs who were made prisoners ; others hurled themselves over the battlements rather than surrender. Then the victors fired a

building to signal the news to the anxious watchers on the walls of Raigarh. But Sivaji was broken-hearted at the death of his old comrade in arms. 'I have won my fort and lost my Lion', he said sadly; and the stronghold is known to this day as Singarh, 'the Lion's Fort'.

Sivaji was now at last the ruler of the Deccan, and it was necessary that he should be crowned. It was three hundred and fifty years since the last Hindu king had been overthrown by the Muhammadan invaders, and the whole Maratha nation was longing for the restoration of the Hindu Raj. In May 1674, preparations were begun at Raigarh for the great event. Gaga Bhat, a famous scholar, was fetched all the way from Benares, and he brought with him water from the sacred Ganges for the purpose. Eleven thousand Brahmins, with their wives and children, were fed at the Raja's expense, and ambassadors from the surrounding states flocked in; among them was an Englishman, George Oxenden, the representative of the English factory at Surat.

The Raja was weighed against gold, which was distributed among the poor in atonement for his sins. Clad in pure white silk and garlanded with flowers, he sat on a golden stool, with his son Sambhaji on one side and his consort Soyrabai on the other, while the Brahmins chanted the sacred *mantras* and sprinkled him with Ganges water from golden ewers. Then the Raja changed into his kingly robes, placed the royal turban on his head,

and, girding the Bhavani sword at his side, went in procession to the throne room. As he mounted the throne, Gaga Bhat raised the golden umbrella over his head, and greeted him with the words, 'Hail, Sivaji Maharaja Chhatrapati!' The immense crowd took up the cry, 'Victory, Victory to Shiva raja!' The trumpets sounded, and the artillery fired salvo after salvo. From one fortress to the other, for hundreds of miles right down to the distant Konkan, the glad news was passed, and thundering cannon announced to the waiting people that once again they had a Hindu ruler.

Sivaji's last expedition was undertaken in 1676. He marched into the Carnatic with a great army, where the kingdom of Bijapur was at its last gasp: The strong fortress of Jinji surrendered; Vellore was taken, together with the Kolar and Bangalore districts. Four years later, while he was carrying all before him, the great warrior died, from what at first had seemed a trifling injury, at Raigarh, in the fifty-third year of his age. He had made the Marathas rulers of the Deccan, the Konkan and the Carnatic, from the Vindhya mountains to Cape Comorin. Above all, he was the man who started the downfall of the Mogul Empire. The 'mountain rat' gnawed through the supports which upheld that mighty structure, though he left it to his successors to complete its overthrow.

Sivaji was a strict disciplinarian; no woman was admitted to his camp on pain of death, and all plunder had to be surrendered for fair division.

He was not only a great soldier, but a great administrator. He saw that people of every caste, Brahmin, Prabhu, Maratha and Mahar, had their proper duties and privileges. He was no despot, and was assisted in the work of government by a Council of Eight Ministers, headed by the Peshwa or Prime Minister. The power of the local nobles over the peasants was checked, and the amount of money to be taken as land revenue was fairly assessed. *calculated*

In appearance, Sivaji was tall and slight, with long arms, a fair complexion and a beard worn in Mussulman fashion. He had piercing eyes and a resolute face, handsome and intelligent. His manner was frank and pleasing. He was chivalrous to his foes, though he showed no mercy to traitors. Above all, he was a sincerely religious man, respecting the beliefs of others. He took no important step without praying to his goddess Bhavani, and often spent hours at her shrine. He owed much to the teaching of his old Brahmin tutor Dadoji Dondadev, and above all, to his mother Jijabai, a typical Hindu woman. After his coronation, he gave his whole kingdom as a gift to God into the hands of his teacher Ramdas, who returned it to him as a sacred trust.

Such a man was Sivaji Bhonsle, the founder of the Maratha Empire, and one of the greatest Hindus of all time.

## MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

THE story of the rise of the Sikhs is an interesting one. Originally they were members of a sect founded by Nanak, their first Guru or spiritual teacher. Nanak tried to found a religion which would be acceptable to both Hindus and Muhammadans. When he was dying in 1538, his followers quarrelled because they were doubtful whether to bury his body with Muslim rites, or burn him as a Hindu. Nanak said, 'Let the Hindus heap up flowers on my right hand, and the Muslims on my left. Those whose flowers are fresh in the morning may have my body'. In the morning, both heaps of flowers were bright and fresh, but the Guru's body had vanished.

Time went on, and the Sikhs or disciples increased in numbers, until they became a powerful body. Arjun, the fifth Guru, built the Golden Temple at Amritsar, and put together the Adi Granth, or Sikh Bible, which consists of the sayings of the Gurus. Arjun was executed by the Emperor Jahangir, and after this, the Sikhs became a martial race, pledged to make war on the Mogul Empire. Hargobind, Arjun's successor, declared, 'My necklace shall be my sword-belt, and my

turban shall be adorned with the royal aigrette. Teg Bahadur, the ninth Guru, was put to death by the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1675, because he would not embrace Islam. Before his death he said, 'Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments, nor thy Queen's. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans, who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy *purdahs*<sup>1</sup> and destroy thy empire'.

Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, formed the Sikhs into a brotherhood, known as the Khalsa or Pure Ones. They took the name Singh, a Lion. They gave up wine and tobacco, and wore the five articles beginning with the letter *k*, long hair, short drawers, an iron discus or bangle, a dagger and a comb. After Govind Singh's death, the war against the Moguls was carried on by a leader named Banda, who did great damage until he was caught and executed. The bravery of the Sikhs is shown by a story told by a Muhammadan historian. A mother had obtained from the Emperor a pardon for her son. She arrived just as the executioner was raising his sword. But the boy cried out, 'My mother is telling falsehoods. With all my heart I join the Sikhs in devotion to the Guru. Send me quickly after my companions.'

In the eighteenth century the Punjab was in a state of confusion. The Mogul Empire had broken up, and all order was lost. The country was

<sup>1</sup> *Purdah*, a curtain serving to screen women from the sight of strangers.

ravaged by Marathas from the South and Afghans from the North. The only law was that of the sword. The Sikhs were divided into twelve *misls* or clans, each at war with the other. The most powerful clan was that of the Sukarchakias, who were constantly at war with their neighbours, the Bhangis. The head of the Sukarchakias was Raja Mohan Singh, and in 1780 a son was born to him and named Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh was brought up as a soldier from childhood. At the age of ten, he saw his first battle, seated on his war elephant in a *howdah* beside his father. One of the enemy climbed into the *howdah* and tried to kill the boy, but was cut down. In 1792 at the age of twelve he succeeded his father, and soon after he was nearly drowned in a flood which swept away his camp, with many horses and camels. Like the Emperor Akbar at an earlier date, he had first to rid himself of the 'petticoat government' of his mother and his mother-in-law, fierce ladies who led their armies in person. They were both defeated and locked up in fortresses.

Ranjit Singh was now master of his own house, and a lucky accident made him very powerful. Shah Zaman, the Afghan ruler, had invaded the Punjab, and lost twelve of his precious cannon in a rising of the waters of the Jhelum river. Ranjit Singh rescued the guns, and gave them back on the condition that he was recognized as ruler of Lahore, the capital of the Punjab. Shortly after, he attacked Amritsar, the Sacred City of the Sikhs.

Amritsar was in the hands of the Bhangis, his rivals, who also owned the famous Zam Zam gun, cast from the copper waterpots taken from the Hindus by the Muslims as *jizya* or poll tax. Ranjit Singh had a passion for guns. It was said that if he learnt that there was a gun in a fort, he could not rest until he had taken the fort to get the gun, or until the gun had been given up to save the fort. Amritsar soon fell, and the Zam Zam gun became Ranjit Singh's property. To-day it stands outside the Lahore Museum.

There were certain states each of the Sutlej to which both Ranjit Singh and the English laid claim. In 1806, Ranjit Singh crossed the Sutlej, and for a time it looked as though this action would lead to war. But the Viceroy, Lord Minto, sent a clever young political officer named Charles Metcalfe to arrange matters. Metcalfe agreed that the Sutlej should be the boundary between the two powers. He had as his bodyguard two companies of Indian infantry. These were on one occasion attacked by a large mob of fanatics, known as Akalis, but owing to good discipline they easily beat them off. This fact greatly impressed Ranjit Singh. So far, the Sikhs had despised infantry, and all their troops were mounted men.

Now Ranjit Singh saw that the real power in battle lay in well-drilled infantry and artillery. He obtained the services of two French officers, Generals Ventura and Allard, who had fought under Napoleon and afterwards had taken service



under the Shah of Persia, and several other Europeans including an Irish artillery officer named Gardner. Between them, they built up the Army of the Khalsa, consisting of thirty thousand infantry with three hundred guns. These troops, like Europeans, had red uniforms and regular pay. Ranjit Singh himself wore a similar uniform, and learnt to drill and command his troops like a European general. The cavalry on the other hand kept their many-coloured silks, their armour, swords, old fashioned guns, and small, round shields.

Very soon, Ranjit Singh found a chance to try out his new army. The great fortified city of Multan was held by an Afghan governor, Nawab Muzaffar Khan, who refused to pay tribute. In January 1818, Ranjit Singh laid siege to Multan. He brought up the Zam Zam gun to batter the walls with its huge stone cannon balls. But as fast as a breach was made, it was filled up by the besieged, and the storming parties were driven back. The siege went on for month after month. At last a band of Akalis seized a bastion, and the troops poured in. But the Nawab, an Afghan noble of ancient family, with his eight sons, refused to surrender. Drawing their swords, they stood with their backs to the wall. Muzaffar Khan had a long white beard, and was a noble figure. 'Come on,' he cried to his enemies, 'and let us perish like men.' But the Sikhs preferred to pick them off with their matchlocks at a safe distance.

When the old man and five of his sons had fallen, the remaining three surrendered. Ranjit Singh got two crores of rupees in booty from Multan.

Soon after, Ranjit Singh undertook another notable exploit. This was the conquest of the beautiful valley of Kashmir. It was a very difficult undertaking, because the Sikhs were unused to mountain warfare, and were constantly harassed by the Pathans and other tribesmen. At first, the Afghans promised to help the Sikhs, but after a while they quarrelled. The Sikhs then seized the fortress of Attock, which commanded the chief crossing over the river Indus. On 13 July, 1813, the Afghans, led by Prince Dost Mohammed Khan, broke the Sikh line of battle by a brilliant cavalry charge, but in the end he was beaten by General Diwan Mokham Chand. In the following year, the Sikh army had to retreat from Kashmir, and was caught in the mountain passes by the bursting of the monsoon. Many soldiers were swept away by the floods and perished. The country was not subdued until 1823, after which Ranjit Singh laid siege to the Afghan town of Peshawar. Peshawar was held by a general named Yar Mahommed Khan, who owned an Arab mare called Laili. Ranjit Singh was very fond of horses, and Laili was said to be the most beautiful mare in Asia. She was grey, with black points, and was sixteen hands high. The Afghan general was arrested and told that he would stay in prison until she was given up. After she was taken, she lived in a silver stall,

with gold bangles 'round her fetlocks. Ranjit Singh said that she cost him sixty lakhs of rupees and 1,200 good soldiers !

Ranjit Singh was now master of the whole of the Punjab and Kashmir. He built himself a fine capital at Lahore, the old Mogul headquarters. Many Europeans visited his Court and had a ready welcome. Among them were Baron Carl Von Hugel, the German scientist, Victor de Jacquemont, the French traveller, and Moorcroft, the English explorer who afterwards perished in the Hindu Kush mountains. Although Ranjit Singh, like Akbar and Sivaji, had had little education, he was of a very enquiring mind, and liked to meet learned men of all nationalities.

The country was well governed, though strict measures had to be used to keep order among the wild tribesmen on the border. Raja Dina Nath, a Rajput, was Finance Minister, and he saw that the peasants were not overtaxed by the Sikh nobles. Lehna Singh, a Sikh, was Master of Ordnance, and was responsible for casting and founding the great guns which formed the chief part of Ranjit Singh's artillery. The Army, as we have seen, was commanded by European generals. The Prime Minister was Fakir Aziz-ud-din, from Bokhara, a physician by profession. He belonged to the Sufi sect, and when he was asked whether he was a Muhammadan or a Sikh by religion, he answered, 'I am like a man floating on a mighty river. I turn my eyes to the land, but I cannot

distinguish either bank.' He was a good Persian and Arabic scholar, and kept a college at his own expense. By thus skilfully mixing together men of various creeds and nationalities, Ranjit Singh evaded all attempts at plotting against his power. Ranjit Singh did not altogether like the advance of the English to his borders. By this time they had overthrown the Marathas, who had been the leading power after the fall of the Mogul Empire, and when he looked at the map of India, he exclaimed, *Sab lal hojayega*, 'Soon it will all be red!' But he was too prudent to quarrel with them. In 1831, the Governor General, Lord Bentinck, met him at a place called Rupar. The English were very much afraid that the Russians would seize Afghanistan, and they wanted the Sikhs to be a buffer-state. There was a grand Darbar, and the Sikh army was drawn up on parade. The regular infantry, in their scarlet coats, looked like a solid red wall. Behind these were the tribal leaders with the irregular cavalry, fierce horsemen in coats of mail, with shields inlaid with gold and heron-plumes in their helmets. Maharaja's bodyguard was clad in gay coloured silks, but Ranjit Singh himself was dressed in a plain suit of white. For days the two armies entertained one another with sports and feasting. Tournaments were held, and the Maharaja, in spite of being paralysed, amazed everyone by his superb horsemanship. Seven years later, another Governor General, Lord Auckland, also visited him. Lord

Auckland's sister, Miss Eden, says that the Maharaja, with his red coat lined with squirrel's fur and his long grey beard, looked like a little old mouse. It was hard, she said, to believe that the small, tottering, one-eyed man ruled an Empire containing the fiercest and most martial tribes in all India. In June 1839, he died; shortly before his death, he bestowed his jewels and horses on various Sikh shrines, and two Ranis accompanied him to the funeral-pyre.

Ranjit Singh was the leading Indian ruler of his day. He found the Sikhs split up into a number of warring clans; he left them a mighty Empire. He was a splendid soldier, and was often compared by European travellers to Bonaparte himself. He introduced peace and order where it had been unknown for centuries, and himself toured from one end of his kingdom to the other, in order to see that his orders were being obeyed. In appearance he was ugly, with only one eye, a face disfigured by smallpox, and his lower limbs paralysed. Only on horseback did he appear the man he really was. But although feeble, blind and paralysed, he kept his fierce chiefs in subjection, and to the last day of his life his orders were instantly obeyed. His personality overawed all who came near him. His Minister was asked in which eye Ranjit Singh was blind. 'The splendour of his face is such,' replied Aziz-ud-din, 'that I have never dared to look close enough to discover that.'

## SIR SAIYID AHMED KHAN

SIR SAIYID AHMED KHAN is perhaps the greatest Muhammadan India has produced since the English became rulers of the country. His family came from Herat to Delhi, and his grandfather was an army commander under the Emperor Alamgir II. Saiyid Ahmed was born in October 1817. At that time, nearly all power had passed to the East India Company, but the Mogul Emperors still maintained their splendour and pomp. The lad spent much of his early life in the Court at Delhi, and was soundly educated by his mother, a pious, and learned lady. Like all other Muslim boys he was taught the Quran, and besides this, he studied Arabic and Persian literature. He learned to love especially the Persian poets of the Sufi sect, and from them he took the enlightened ideas about religion which were such a feature of his later life.

In 1836, his father died, and Saiyid Ahmed, finding little for an ambitious young man to do in the Court of Delhi, determined to enter the British service, though his family were opposed to the step. He probably foresaw that the Mogul power was fast coming to an end, and that the British

Government was taking its place. He was made a Sheristidar, or Court Reader, and did so well that he quickly rose to the rank of Munsif or sub-judge. In 1844 he published an interesting and learned work in Urdu, about the various ruined cities around Delhi, and the famous poets and saints who had flourished there.

Some years later, Saiyid Ahmed Khan became Munsif of Bijnaur, a town of about 13,000 people, between Meerut and Roorkee. He still held this post, when, in 1857, the Indian Mutiny broke out. The sepoys of the Bengal Army rose and murdered their officers, and soon all appearance of law and order was lost. Some Rohillas came and plundered the town, and wished to throw open the jail. There were eight European officers, four ladies and a number of children in the cantonment. Saiyid Ahmed Khan and the Deputy Collector, Rehmat Khan, worked magnificently in order to rescue them. In the end Saiyid Ahmed Khan succeeded in persuading the Rohilla chief to let the Europeans go safely to Meerut.

Meanwhile, Saiyid Ali Khan's family was in Delhi, which was being besieged by the British troops. When the city was taken by storm, his uncle and cousin, most unfortunately, were killed; while his mother found shelter in the house of a servant. Saiyid Ahmed Khan went to Delhi with all speed, and brought his mother to Meerut. But she was so much shaken by the experiences which she had undergone during the siege, that

she died of shock about a month later Saiyid Ahmed Khan stuck to his post until the rising was finally put down, and did all in his power to help the Government.

Mr. Shakespeare, the Collector of the district, speaking of the work that Saiyid Ahmed Khan and his companions did at the time, said, 'I cannot exaggerate the help they afforded me during this period of incessant anxiety and danger. On every occasion of special anxiety and difficulty, such as when the jail broke and I found it advisable to throw the Treasure down the well, the officers in question were ever ready, and behaved with great discretion and courage'.

Sir John Strachey, afterwards Finance Minister to the Government of India, said that no man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty. 'No language which I could use', he declared, 'would be worthy of the devotion he showed.' For this work the Government presented Saiyid Ahmed Khan with a *khilat* and sword of Honour.

Saiyid Ahmed Khan afterwards published a book on the Indian Mutiny, in which he analysed the causes of that terrible tragedy. The real reason, he wrote, was that the Government of India was out of touch with the people, and did not know what the masses were thinking. Many of the social reforms introduced were misunderstood, and people thought that their religion was in danger. The real need of the country was education. Had the



sepoys of the Bengal Army been educated men, they would never have been misled by the absurd rumours which caused the revolt. Lack of education was the cause of the country's poverty.' 'Look at England', he said. 'Look how her wealth has increased in the last century. She has had great difficulties to contend with—far greater than those which obstruct the spread of education in this country. In those days she had no railways, no steam printing-press—nothing but her own innate genius and unconquerable will.'

With the terrible tragedy of the Mutiny ever before his eyes, Saiyid Ahmed Khan set himself to what was to be his life work—the enlightenment of his fellow-countrymen. He thought that previous efforts made by such reformers as Lord Bentinck and Macaulay had failed because they were mainly directed towards the spread of English. English could never be the language of any but the few, and the masses could only be reached through their mother-tongue. Aided, therefore, by his friend and future biographer, Colonel Graham, he held a meeting of English and other Europeans at Ghazipur, the object of which was to found a society for translating useful works from English into Urdu. He also founded the Victoria College at Ghazipur for the same purpose. It was built entirely out of the contributions of the local inhabitants. In these endeavours he met with bitter opposition from local Muhammadans, who thought that Western ideas would undermine the

religious beliefs of the young ; but he stuck to his work with characteristic pluck. His efforts received much encouragement from the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence.

In 1869, Saiyid Ahmed Khan made a most courageous decision. His two sons had just been awarded State Scholarships, and were about to proceed to England. Although he was now fifty-two and knew little about English manners and social customs, he determined to accompany them. In January 1869, therefore, the party set out on the P. & O steamer *Baroda*. His biographer tells us many amusing anecdotes about the voyage. Thus, one of his fellow passengers was describing the prosperity of the British Empire, which, he declared, was due to the Christian religion. Saiyid Ahmed Khan observed quietly that Jesus Christ was not a rich man.

In England he made many friends, including Thomas Carlyle. The Sage of 'Chelsea had long been interested in The Prophet, whom he had treated rather unfairly in his lectures on 'Heroes and Hero Worship'. Saiyid Ahmed was at the time engaged in bringing out his *Essays on the Life of Muhammed*, and the two talked together on the subject far into the night.

What impressed him most of all in England was the state of education of the people. His landlady would discuss politics with him, and the cabmen, waiting for their fares, read the daily newspaper. Even his maid-servant could read and write.

How different was all this from the state of things in India! 'The progress of the West,' he wrote to a friend, 'is entirely due to the fact that all the arts and sciences are treated of in languages they know. If they were taught in Latin, Greek, Persian or Arabic, the English would be in the same state of ignorance as that in which, I am sorry to say, the Hindu masses lie buried. Those who are bent on improving and bettering India must remember that the only way of compassing this is by having the whole of the arts and sciences translated into their own language. I should like to have this written in gigantic letters on the Himalayas for the remembrance of future generations.'

Soon after his return to India in 1870, Saiyid Ahmed Khan began to think out the details of a scheme for founding a residential college on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge, where the learning of East and West might be combined without prejudice to religion.

The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee was started in 1872, and four years later, Saiyid Ahmed Khan retired from Government service in order to devote his entire energies to the task. The foundation stone of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh was laid in the following January by the Viceroy, Lord Lytton. The Aligarh College soon attracted students from all over India. Saiyid Ahmed Khan was fortunate to secure the services of such

Englishmen as Theodore Beck, Morison, and Sir Thomas Arnold; they freely mixed with their pupils and infected them with their own love of learning. Among the Indian scholars who made Aligarh their home were Hali, the Urdu poet, Shibli and Nazir Ahmad, the prose-writers; and Nawab Muhsinul Mulk, the great orator, who carried on Saiyid Ahmed's work after he died.

Saiyid Ahmed's aims went far beyond the Aligarh College. He started an annual Muhammadan Educational Conference, and many hundreds of Muslims attended in order to hear lectures on educational subjects. It led to the foundation of numbers of schools in different parts of the country. He was a master of Urdu prose, and edited a monthly periodical, *Tehzib-ul-Akhlak*, which dealt with questions of Social Reform in an uncompromising manner. 'I must say what is in my heart,' he declared, 'even at the risk of being distasteful.' But the work which brought a storm of opposition was his *Tafsir*, or Commentary on the Quran. Saiyid Ahmed wished to show that there was no opposition between the teaching of Islam and modern science, and his views on the subject were frankly rationalistic. He maintained that the Quran was not verbally inspired, but must be interpreted in the light of reason. The Ulema or Muhammadan theologians branded him as a Kafir or Infidel, and went to the length of obtaining a *fatwa* or religious edict against him from Mecca; his life was more than once in danger from the

daggers of fanatics. But he went on calmly with his work, undeterred by praise or blame.

Saiyid Ahmed Khan served on the Legislative Council in the time of Lord Lytton, and again under Lord Ripon. He was a member of the Educational and the Public Services Commissions. When the Indian National Congress was formed, with his usual frankness, he would have nothing to do with it. This was not because he was a separatist, for no one was keener than he to see India a nation. The terms Hindu and Muhammadan were, he said, religious and not political terms. He even compared the two communities to the two eyes in a human body, both equally indispensable. Hindu students were admitted freely to Aligarh. But he thought that politics in a largely illiterate country would divert attention from the real need, which was education. For the same reason, he opposed Lord Ripon's scheme for Local Self-Government.

In 1887, Saiyid Ahmed Khan was made a K.C.S.I., and he devoted the remainder of his life to the causes he loved. The storms which attended the earlier part of his career had now blown over, and wherever he went his commanding figure, his long, snow-white beard, and his eloquent voice drew admiring crowds. No one was more loved and revered in Northern India. He died, full of years and honour, in 1898, and was laid to rest in a corner of the mosque of his beloved college. A fund raised to his memory in all parts of the country

converted Aligarh into a University. It could not have been spent more fittingly. Perhaps his best epitaph is found in some lines written in his honour by the poet Hali :

To be ill treated by one's brethren, but to live  
for their good ;

To love the arrow by which one is pierced ;

To live with but one hope—to serve one's nation,  
And to die with that hope in one's heart :

If *you* fulfil this ideal,

You can aspire to be a Saiyid Ahmed.

## MAHATMA GANDHI

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI, perhaps the best known and most beloved Indian of to-day, was born at Porbandar in Kathiawar in October 1869. He was the youngest child of a large family. His father, who held a hereditary office in the State, was a man of very little education, and belonged to the Banya caste. Thus the Mahatma is truly a child of the people, and his sympathies have always been with victims of caste-tyranny and social injustice. According to the custom of the day, he was married at the age of thirteen, and this afterwards opened his eyes to the evils of child-marriage.

His earliest ambition was to be a lawyer, and for this purpose he went to England at the age of seventeen, in order to study at the Inner Temple. His experiences in England were not happy. In those days there were few Indians in the country, and he was a shy and lonely lad. He was impressed, however, by the superior physique of the English race, which he attributed to the fact that they ate meat. He thought that this was the reason why they were able to rule over a great country like India. Accordingly, young Gandhi determined to break the principles of the Jain religion in which

he had been brought up, and become a meat-eater too. Soon, however, he abandoned the experiment in disgust, and returned to the simple vegetarian diet of his people. In due course, he was called to the Bar and returned to India. On his arrival, he had to submit to various rites in order to be readmitted to his caste. He learned on landing that his beloved mother had died during his absence; this filled him with grief, and for a long time he was inconsolable.

Gandhi, however, did not make a good pleader. When he took his first case in the Bombay Court he broke down completely, and was unable to proceed. He returned to Kathiawar, where for a time he helped his brother. It appeared as though he was to be a complete failure. But just as his fortunes were at their lowest the turning-point came. A large number of Indians had settled in South Africa. Many of these were the descendants of Indian coolies who had arrived in Natal under indenture to work when the colony was short of native labour. Others were Gujarathi merchants and traders, both Hindu and Moslem. Colour prejudice in South Africa was very strong, particularly in the Boer republics. The Boers, Dutch settlers, in spite of the protests of the British Government, had done all they could to restrict the free entry of Indians, and to prevent them from taking out licences to trade. In 1893, Gandhi went to South Africa on behalf of an Indian firm which had a legal dispute with the South African Republic,



and his eyes were opened for the first time to the injustices which his countrymen were enduring. After the legal case was settled, Gandhi took up the question of the treatment of Indians by the Boers, and in 1896 he returned to India to lay the facts before the Indian Government. Meanwhile, an agitation was started by the English colonists of Natal against the importation of any more Indian labourers, as it was feared that they would lower the standard of living and the high rate of wages which the white men enjoyed. When Gandhi returned to South Africa in 1896, serious riots broke out. He was assaulted by an unruly mob, and was only rescued with difficulty.

Gandhi, however, remained loyal to the British Government. In 1899, war broke out between them and the Boers, as both parties claimed control over South Africa, and the Boers resented the presence of the Uitlanders or foreigners, who came in large numbers to the city of Johannesburg in order to exploit the gold mines. The Boers invaded Natal, and laid siege to the town of Ladysmith. General Buller was sent with an army to relieve it. Gandhi raised and trained a body of Indian stretcher-bearers, which was attached to General Buller's force. The Boers were excellent marksmen, who hid in the 'kopjes' or rocky heights and shot down the British soldiers without suffering any harm themselves. At a place called Colenso, a part of the British artillery had to be abandoned owing to heavy fire from these invisible

foes, and the only son of Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in South Africa, was killed. The Indian stretcher-bearers helped to remove the wounded soldiers and take them back to hospital. Some time later, the British seized a height called Spion Kop which overlooked Ladysmith, and they hoped by this means to open the way into the town, which was almost at its last gasp. But the Boers counter-attacked fiercely, and the British were forced to abandon the position. The fire was very heavy, and a hail of bullets came over the hill and fell on the farther side. But in spite of this, Gandhi and his stretcher-bearers worked calmly on, carrying the wounded to the base, where they could be properly cared for.

In the end, Ladysmith was relieved, and Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener forced the brave Boers to surrender. The South African Union was formed, and British and Dutch gradually settled down in peace with equal civil rights. In 1901, the situation seemed so much better that Gandhi once more returned to his beloved motherland. He hoped that once the Boers were conquered the anti-Indian legislation would be repealed, and that Indians would no longer be made to pay the emigration tax and register their fingerprints, or submit to other restrictions. But this did not happen, and Gandhi again went to South Africa to champion the Indian cause. On his return, he founded the Transvaal British Indian Association, and started a newspaper called *Indian Opinion*.

About this time, he began to read a number of books which were destined to have a profound effect upon his outlook on life. Among these were Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and the works of the Russian reformer Tolstoy. From these studies he became convinced that true happiness can only be enjoyed by a return to a simple mode of life, and by giving up worldly ambitions. His religious outlook was formed largely on his studies of the Hindu *Bhagavad Gita* and Jesus's Sermon on the Mount. These, combined with the Jain creed on which he was brought up, taught him that a man's duty is to love his enemies, to do good to those who persecute him, and to refrain from taking life. The latter doctrine, known in Indian philosophy as *Ahimsa*, became a cardinal principle in Gandhi's life.

Gandhi now established a little colony of Indian and European friends who lived the simple life which he had laid down, and when the Government of South Africa still refused to give Indians the rights to which they felt they were entitled, he started a campaign of passive resistance ২২২২২২

Gandhi and other Indian leaders were arrested and thrown into prison; but the agitation created among the Indian community was so strong that the Government was compelled to agree to a compromise. Some of the Indians thought that Gandhi had betrayed their cause, and he was attacked and nearly murdered by a Pathan. Still, however, the South African Government seemed

unwilling to grant all that it had promised, especially the repeal of an annual tax of £3 to be paid by all ex-indentured Indian settlers. In 1913 Gandhi therefore led a great march of Natal Indian indentured labourers, who were ready to go to prison rather than submit. The struggle only ended in 1914, when the 'Black Act', which obliged all Asiatic settlers to register their names with fingerprints, was repealed, together with the annual tax; and Indian marriages were legalized. Thus the legal status of Indians in South Africa was at last fully safeguarded.

In 1914, his work for his fellow-countrymen in South Africa having been successfully completed, Gandhi left with the good wishes of both Europeans and Indians, whose hearts he had won over to accept an agreement honourable to both parties. In India, he was accorded a triumphant reception during a prolonged tour which he undertook shortly after his return. He then turned his attention to the foundation of an Ashram or hermitage near Ahmedabad, where he and his followers could practise the kind of life he had planned for himself, unhampered by caste or creed. The admission of members of the depressed classes to his community led to a violent outcry from orthodox Hindu circles, which was only stopped when Gandhi threatened to leave the Ashram and go to dwell in the untouchable quarter himself. During this period, Gandhi still kept up the fight to stop the practice of sending indentured Indian labourers.

to work in foreign countries. He also intervened successfully in Bihar, where the European indigo planters were treating their cultivators very badly ; and when a famine broke out in the Kaira district, he urged the cultivators not to pay their land revenue until their grievances had been duly redressed. Many of the farmers allowed their goods and cattle to be seized, and even threatened to remove their standing crops.

But Gandhi's most successful feat was his intervention on behalf of the mill hands in Ahmedabad. They were overworked and underpaid, and in many cases they lived under deplorable conditions, crowded together in insanitary tenements. Gandhi exhorted them to strike for better treatment, and when this failed, he undertook to fast, to death if need be, until their grievances were remedied. This was the first time that Gandhi used in a dispute his famous weapon of *Satyagraha* or Soul Force. It was singularly successful: the mill owners gave way, and the conditions of the mill hands was materially improved in many respects. About this time, the title of *Mahatma*, or Great Soul, began to be applied to Gandhi as the champion of the poor and oppressed.

In 1914, the war with Germany broke out, and just as fifteen years earlier Gandhi had supported the British against the Boers, so on this occasion he volunteered his services for what he held to be the right cause. He worked hard to recruit a labour corps in Gujarat, and was awarded the

Kaisar-i-Hind medal for his services. After the war, India was in a very disturbed condition. The failure of the monsoon, the economic depression which made it impossible for the peasants to sell their crops, and the flooding of the labour market with thousands of disbanded soldiers had created much discontent.

An act known as the Rowlatt Act had been passed, enabling the Government to deal summarily with the Bengal anarchists, and there was widespread fear that its powers might be abused for the purpose of suppressing genuine political agitation. The Muhammadan community also was greatly perturbed by the harsh treatment of Turkey after the war, and the Afghans were threatening to invade India. Serious riots had broken out in various parts of the country, especially in the Punjab. At Amritsar, the mob had got completely out of hand. Two bank officials were burnt to death; the railway station was destroyed and the staff murdered. Martial law was proclaimed, and General Dyer, who was in charge, opened fire on a meeting which was being held in an enclosed space known as the Jalianwallah Bagh, killing and wounding a very large number of people.

General Dyer's conduct was made the subject of an enquiry, and he was placed on the retired list by way of punishment for having exceeded his powers. But the Jalianwallah Bagh shooting sent a wave of indignation through the entire

country, and Gandhi, by way of protest, organized a movement known as non-cooperation with Government. People were to give up all titles and honorary offices; no Indian was to accept paid appointments or to serve Government in any capacity; everyone was to decline to pay taxes and to refuse to make use of the Government law-courts, schools, colleges and hospitals; and the police, army and excise officers and men were to refuse to work. Gandhi set an example by returning to the Viceroy his Kaisar-i-Hind medal.

Gandhi now became closely associated with the Indian National Congress. This political organization was founded in 1885, because at that time there were no bodies in the country to represent Indian political opinion; and it was drawn from representatives of all classes. It held meetings once a year, when resolutions were drawn up, calling the attention of Government to various grievances. It took a prominent part in the agitation against Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905, and ever since then it has been strongly nationalist in its outlook, and has aimed at securing the ultimate independence of the country from foreign rule. Gandhi quickly became a recognized leader of the Congress, though there were some others, like Pandit Motilal Néhrú and Mr. R. C. Das, who did not agree with his politics, while they had the highest respect for his saintly character.

Gandhi, supported by the Congress Party, at

first decided to start a civil disobedience movement as a protest against the behaviour of General Dyer, but events proved that the masses were as yet unready for non-violence. In 1921, when the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on a visit to India, there were riots in which almost as many lost their lives as at Jalianwallah Bagh. In the following year, at Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur District, a body of non-cooperators attacked twenty policemen and burnt them to death. There was also much bloodshed in the Punjab, and Gandhi himself was arrested and put on trial. He took full responsibility for what had happened and the judge, with great reluctance sentenced him to six years' imprisonment. He was sent to Yeravda Jail, near Poona, where he was courteously treated. Two years later, he developed acute appendicitis. He was successfully operated on by the English Civil Surgeon of Poona and the unexpired portion of his sentence was commuted.

After his release from jail, Gandhi worked steadily to prepare the nation for non-violent civil disobedience. This meant the cultivation of the utmost self-restraint in the face of provocation, however severe; the non-cooperator was to learn to stand up cheerfully and calmly to lathi charges, beating, shooting and imprisonment without resistance. At the same time Gandhi had a definite programme for the social and economic regeneration of India. The use of foreign cloth was to be discontinued in favour of *khaddar* or



homespun ; everyone was to spin a stated number of yards of cotton every day, and to take a vow to use nothing but *swadeshi* or home-made articles. The manufacture of intoxicating liquor was to be stopped. Above all, the great curse of untouchability, which separated the members of the depressed classes from their fellow-Hindus and prevented them from living inside the villages or using the same temples and wells, was to be removed. In 1924, Gandhi became President of the Congress, and his followers adopted as their badge the little white cap of *khaddar*, modelled on the convict's cap which their leader had been forced to wear in jail in South Africa.

In 1926, Lord Irwin became Viceroy of India. He was a great and good man, with deep religious convictions, and between him and the Mahatma there quickly arose a deep mutual respect and regard. But Gandhi was still determined to right the various wrongs and disabilities under which his people were suffering. One of these was the tax on salt, which, he thought, weighed very heavily on the poorest classes. As a symbolic protest against this, he started a march to the seashore at Dandi in Gujarat in order to defy the Government by making salt out of sea-water. The march to Dandi soon became a triumphant procession. As soon as Gandhi left his *Asbham* on the banks of the Sabarmati, he was joined by hundreds of followers. At almost every village, the *patels* or village officers laid down their offices, even though

they knew that their lands would be forfeited. The movement reached such dimensions that Government found it necessary to order Gandhi's arrest, and he was once more lodged in Yeravda Jail.

Meanwhile, the English and Indian Governments were working hard to evolve a new constitution, which would prepare India for the day when she would receive Dominion Status, and be on the same footing as Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa, as a self-governing nation within the Empire. But it was difficult to arrive at a solution which would at the same time satisfy the Indian Princes, the Congress leaders, the Muslims, and the various minority communities. The matter had already been investigated by a Parliamentary Commission under Sir John Simon, a distinguished lawyer and statesman; but the Commission consisted entirely of Englishmen, and its findings were not accepted by Indian politicians. In November 1930, a Round Table Conference, consisting of Indian and English members, was called in London to discuss the whole question; but Congress was not represented, as the Civil Disobedience movement was then at its height, and most of the leaders were in jail.

Lord Irwin was determined to remedy this state of affairs. He was anxious that Gandhi should attend the next session of the Conference as the Congress representative, and in January 1931 he released the members of the Working Committee

who were in prison. In February, Gandhi went to Delhi to see Lord Irwin, and after prolonged discussions an agreement was signed; Government was to withdraw its depressive measures, and Congress was to call off Civil Disobedience. Gandhi was to attend the second session of the Conference, and accordingly he sailed for London in the following October. It is characteristic of the man that while in London he lodged in a working class district among the very poor, and in spite of the cold he continued to wear only the simple loin cloth of *khaddar* in which he was clad in India.

I do not think that Gandhi was quite at home in the atmosphere of the Round Table Conference. He was ill at ease among statesmen and politicians, as his heart was really with the millions of poverty-stricken Indian peasants in his native land. For this reason he did not contribute very much to the discussions. The Conference did not seem to him to be representative of India. 'I, who am representing over ninety per cent of the Indian population,' he said, 'am pitted against one hundred and forty-nine or whatever is the number of other delegates. Immediately I make good that claim, you will see that my task before the Conference and the British Ministers will be easier. Unless I prove that the Congress represents the bulk of the people, I must go back and restart Civil Disobedience.'

But Gandhi did valuable work outside the

Conference, in making the various classes of people in England acquainted with Indian aspirations and demands. He visited the Universities, the famous Public School at Eton, the Lancashire millworkers, the Committee Room of the House of Commons and other places, and everywhere he was listened to with the closest attention.

The second session of the Round Table Conference went on till December, but nothing very definite emerged, as the delegates were unable to reach a decision on the all-important question of communal representation on the Legislative Councils. Gandhi refused to consider a separate electorate for any community except the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Europeans; as regards the depressed classes, he insisted that they were Hindus, and must be kept within the Hindu fold. Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes, took the opposite point of view. When the Conference was wound up on 1 December, the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, announced that as no agreement had been reached he himself would be obliged to make a Communal award.

On 5 December, Gandhi left Victoria Station amid enthusiastic scenes. He stopped at Paris, where he met Romain Rolland, the famous author and pacifist, who afterwards wrote his biography. He also went to Lausanne in Switzerland, and to Rome where he had an interview with Signor Mussolini. His message to the people was always the same. 'Europe,' he repeatedly declared, 'is

suffering from a malady caused by the burden of armaments, and most countries are on the verge of moral and material bankruptcy.' Events have shown that his words were prophetic.

Gandhi sailed from Brindisi by the Italian steamer *Pilsna* on 13 December, and arrived in Bombay on the 28th. He was accorded an enthusiastic reception and enormous crowds assembled on the Maidan to hear him speak. But he found the country in a desperate condition. There were complaints on the part of the Government that Congress leaders had broken the truce in his absence; Congress on the other hand declared that Government had started 'legalized terrorism' by imposing ordinances on Bengal and the North-West Frontier, and by taxing the *ryots* in the United Provinces. Gandhi asked for an interview with the Viceroy, which was refused; whereupon Congress threatened to renew Civil Disobedience unless Government repealed the ordinances and left them free scope to prosecute their claim for complete independence. Government thereupon arrested Gandhi and other leaders, and took stern steps to repress the threatened outbreak. Many thousands of the followers of Congress were thrown into prison.

In August, the Prime Minister's communal decision was received, and it was announced that the various communities would have separate representation in the Legislative Councils. Gandhi thought that this would divide the whole country, and he announced that he would 'fast unto death'

unless the method of representation provided for the depressed classes was altered. Mr Gandhi's fast at Yeravda Jail began on 20 September and caused widespread concern. It was felt that the Mahatma was no longer a young man and the consequences might well be fatal. Anxious crowds waited day and night outside the door of the prison. Great was the relief when it was announced that a compromise, known as the Poona Pact, was arrived at, and the Mahatma broke his fast on the 26th in the presence of a band of devoted followers.

In the following year, Gandhi undertook two more fasts in order to melt the hearts of the high-caste Hindus, who were still opposed to giving the untouchable classes their rights. The first was a three weeks' fast beginning on 8 May, and as soon as it started Government released their distinguished prisoner, who was taken to the neighbouring mansion of a wealthy Hindu admirer and treated with loving care. The fast ended on 29 May, and the patient slowly recovered.

After he had regained his strength, Gandhi decided to abandon mass disobedience, for which he felt that the country was still unfitted. He substituted an individual movement, and in order to start it he revived his old plan of a march through the country, accompanied by his followers. He was once more arrested and imprisoned. In August, finding that the authorities did not afford him proper facilities for prosecuting his work on behalf of the Untouchables, he again

went on hunger-strike, and this time he was released unconditionally.

Meanwhile, the work on the Government of India Bill was going on. The Round Table Conferences came to an end, and a Joint Select Committee of Parliament was appointed to examine witnesses and ascertain what opinions Indians of various schools of thought held on its proposals. The Government of India Bill was a great advance on the past. The Provinces were to have complete autonomy, and at the Centre there was to be a Federal Government including representatives of the Provinces and the Indian States. But certain important powers, including control over the Army and Finance, were reserved to the Viceroy, and this by no means satisfied Congress politicians, who claimed full Dominion Status at once. Gandhi was never greatly interested in purely political questions, and he was busy at the time on an untouchability campaign. During his tour, large sums in cash and jewels were collected and devoted to securing better housing, schools and other benefits for these poor folk. In January 1934 occurred the terrible Bihar earthquake, and he gladly co-operated with the Government in collecting funds and organizing relief among the peasants, whose sufferings were terrible.

In 1935, the Government of India Bill was passed by both Houses of Parliament and became law. Owing, however, to difficulties with regard to the position of the Indian States, it was determined to

apply the new constitution to the Provinces only. When the first elections were held, in eight out of the eleven provinces Congress representatives swept the board. Gandhī was opposed to the acceptance of office by Congress members, and for a time the Governors had to appoint ministers chosen by themselves. At length, however, the objection was overruled, and from 1937 to the outbreak of the present war, Congress ministers were in power. During that time, they accomplished a great amount of useful work. The sale of intoxicating drink was prohibited, and great strides were made in compulsory education, village uplift, and the various social services. About this time, Gandhī himself retired from active participation in politics, which he decided to leave to younger men, and he lives at the little village of Sevagram, near the town of Wardha in the Central Provinces, where his advice is eagerly sought on all sorts of political, social and religious questions. He enjoys the confidence and respect of the present Viceroy, Lord Wavell, just as he had formerly done that of Lord Irwin and Lord Linlithgow.

Such then in brief has been the career of the Gujarathī saint, who, in the words of his biographer, 'has stirred three hundred million people to revolt, has shaken the foundations of the British Empire, and has introduced into human politics the strongest religious impulse of the last two thousand years'. His appearance is typical of the man. Frail and thin, with large eyes and a peculiarly winning



smile and a loincloth of coarse *khaddar*, he would pass unnoticed in an Indian crowd save for a peculiarly arresting personality which at once attracts the beholder. Indeed, his body seems hardly to count at all. He sleeps little, works without ceasing, and lives on a diet of goats' milk and fruit. He has none of the arts of the orator, yet his simple words have a ring of passionate sincerity. Gentle and courteous in his dealings with his opponents, and always ready to admit a mistake, he is nevertheless as tough as steel where vital principles are at stake. He has introduced into political struggles a new factor which raises resistance to evil to a plane hitherto unknown; and it is even possible that one day in the not distant future, a distracted world will find that the true solution of its difficulties lies in the principles enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi.

## WINSTON CHURCHILL

EARLY in 1933, when Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of the German Reich, and Franklin D. Roosevelt entered on his first term of office as President of the United States of America, (Mr Winston Churchill was in that political wilderness where unwanted statesmen live.) He had been a Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet a Conservative Prime Minister offered him no office, the country as a whole could not make up its mind about him; indeed there had been a period when he found it difficult to persuade a constituency to send him to Parliament. When his future was discussed the conclusion reached was usually that his return to office was most unlikely, but that, while using his leisure to paint pictures and to lay bricks, he might make new conquests with his pen. Such a future would spell success for most men, but it seemed a poor last Act to a life full of colour and energy.)

Mr Churchill was named after Sir Winston Churchill, an eccentric cavalier of the time of Charles II. His son, John Churchill, became famous as the Duke of Marlborough, one of England's greatest soldiers.

The third son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough was Lord Randolph Spencer Churchill, who, for a time, dazzled the political world without convincing either his own party—the Tories—or the public that he was a reliable statesman. In the summer of 1873, Lord Randolph met Miss Jenny Jerome, one of the beautiful daughters of a wealthy American of New York. The

two young people immediately fell in love, and after some opposition from the Duke of Marlborough, they were married in Paris. On 30 November 1874 their first son was born. He was christened Winston Leonard Spencer; the second name was that of his American grandfather.

We know a great deal about Mr Churchill's boyhood, for he has told us much about himself, and others have recorded their memories. From the beginning he seems to have been energetic, rebellious and sometimes even violent. His father felt inclined to apologize for this snub-nosed, untidy boy. 'Not much yet, but a good 'un,' he said once.

Schooldays were not the happy times which most eminent men claim to have had. Here was a boy who did not fit into the usual pattern. His first school was a disaster, and the treatment he received there made him so ill that he had to be removed. One person only seemed to understand him, his nurse Mrs Everest devoted herself to him—a devotion he fully returned. His parents were brilliant members of Society (with a very large capital S) and they had little opportunity for getting to understand this awkward boy of theirs.

At Harrow he was less unhappy, but it did little to help him discover himself, although he had an amazing verbal memory, he was no scholar, nor did he take a prominent place in sport. In fact he gave the impression that he was dull. After a great deal of discussion his father agreed to his making the Army his career. An accident prevented him from going straight from Harrow to Sandhurst. A six months rest was ordered, and this enabled the youth to get to know his parents more intimately. His father's brilliant, if short, career

as a Statesman had made him his eldest son's hero, and the enforced rest gave opportunities for visiting the gallery of the House of Commons, and of listening at home to the political talk of the day.

At Sandhurst Winston Churchill found himself—or one of his selves! Military problems and knowledge fascinated him and he gave all his mind to them, while the riding and practical exercises provided some outlet for his exuberant physical energy. Before he passed out from Sandhurst his father died, to remain a beloved memory, mother and son entered a companionship which meant a great deal to both.

In 1895 he was gazetted a subaltern in the 4th Hussars. After a few months he craved for action—war if possible, for, fascinating as the study of past campaigns was, experience of the real thing was necessary to get a full understanding of the questions involved. A further problem was that of money. His mother was able to make him an allowance of £500 a year, his Army pay was about a quarter of that, and he was expected to live in keeping with the high social group to which he belonged. His thoughts turned to journalism. His father before him had written for the *Daily Graphic*; so Winston Churchill persuaded that paper to accept him as correspondent for the Spanish War in Cuba. Then he achieved the more difficult task of getting the Spanish military authorities to accept him and the British authorities to consent to his going. It was all over in a few months, but the young officer had been under fire and seen his first fighting.

Soon after this episode the 4th Hussars left for India. Apart from the polo in which Churchill revelled, life was rather dull. He did the first course of serious

reading he had so far undertaken, and he found Gibbon and Macaulay, especially the second, much to his taste ; but he also read some science and philosophy.

While he was on leave news came of an outbreak of hostilities on the North-West Frontier. He persuaded the commanding officer to get him appointed as an officer-war-correspondent. Out of this experience came his first book, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force*. This showed characteristics which were to become more pronounced ; he did not hesitate to criticize the conduct of the expedition, and he gave evidence that he could use his mother tongue very effectively. His comments were regarded by regular officers as impertinent, but this did not deter him from criticizing whatever he felt was wrong. From this came the opinion that he was simply advertising himself, and when this habit of criticizing his elders was combined with his irrepressible spirits, it is easy to understand that he was not popular.

Another opportunity for action came in 1898. Kitchener was campaigning in the Sudan against the Mahdī. By using every influence he could, Winston Churchill got out to Egypt, this time as correspondent of the *Morning Post*, but still as an officer in the British Army. His arrival was not welcomed by Kitchener, but the young soldier-journalist did not worry about that. This time he took part in a cavalry charge in the battle of Omdurman and once more knew what it was to be under fire.

One result was another successful book *The River War*, in which again the author (aged twenty-four) dared to criticize ; this time he attacked Kitchener—the popular hero of the day.

He left the regular army after this campaign, for he had decided to follow his father into Parliament. He was adopted as the prospective Conservative candidate for Oldham in Lancashire. But much was to happen before he became a Member of Parliament.

War broke out in South Africa in the autumn of 1899, and Winston Churchill was at once offered the congenial job of chief correspondent to the *Morning Post*.

All wars seem to begin with the same belief that they will be over in a few months. So in 1899 people said that the Boers were just farmers without large regular military forces; how could they possibly stand up against the British Army?

Winston Churchill certainly thought that the war might be over by the time he reached South Africa. Events proved that his fears were baseless, the Boers showed themselves experts at a kind of warfare in which British troops had not been trained. First class shooting and mobility were the chief assets of the Boers, and these they used with great skill. Within a few weeks they captured the *Morning Post's* war correspondent!

Winston Churchill joined a party moving towards the Boer lines in an armoured train—a primitive form of tank, as it was protected by iron sheeting, but it had to keep to the rails. The train was attacked and the war correspondent so far forgot his non-military status as to help in the defence. An officer, named Louis Botha, took Winston Churchill prisoner. The Boers were delighted at capturing such a well-known and highly connected Englishman. He was sent to Pretoria to join some two thousand other prisoners.

It is not difficult to imagine his impatience at being cooped up so early in the campaign; but more irritating

than anything else was the want of activity. His restless mind proposed several plans by which the prisoners could seize Pretoria, and when these were not received with enthusiasm by the officers, his thoughts turned to escape. But he was unable to get support for a mass attempt. In the end he got away alone by climbing over the wall when the sentries had their backs turned. He then walked through the town, two hours later he managed to board a goods train going in the direction of Portuguese East Africa; he hid amongst some sacks. When morning came he dared not go farther, so, jumping off, he started to walk. At length, so tired and hungry that he felt desperate, he went to a village and knocked at a door. His luck was still with him, for the owner was an English miner. The fugitive was hidden down the mine for a few days until a bargain had been made for his safe transport across the frontier in a truck loaded with bales of wool. At last he was free and could return to South Africa and the British Army. The Boers were annoyed at his escape and they offered £25 reward for his capture. The description of him reads, 'pale appearance, red-brownish hair, small and hardly noticeable moustache, talks through his nose, and cannot pronounce the letter S properly.'

This escape made Winston Churchill big news, and his dispatches to the *Morning Post* attracted much attention. They were not just hearty accounts of events, but were serious attempts to get his readers to understand the situation. For instance, here is a passage from a very early dispatch 'The only way of treating them (the Boers) is either to get men equal in character and intelligence or, failing the individual,

huge masses of troops. . . . Are the gentlemen of England fox-hunting?' *25.11.14*

He had managed to evade the new rules which had been made to prevent serving officers from being war correspondents; he saw further action at Spion Kop, and then had an adventurous ride through Johannesburg with dispatches for Lord Roberts, he was amongst the first to enter Pretoria and had the pleasure of releasing his former fellow-prisoners.

By this time politics were calling him more insistently than ever. The *Morning Post* had felt compelled to refuse his more outspoken dispatches, in this first year of the war he was already urging generous treatment of the Boers and at the same time was unsparing in his criticism of the conduct of the war. So, just before his twenty-sixth birthday, he gave up his irregular connection with the Army in the field and returned to England where his policy could be urged directly and without censorship.

Churchill's name was famous, but he had—and has always had—bitter opponents who could not see beneath the surface glitter and the natural exaggeration and impatience of youth. Here is an American journalist's description of him towards the end of 1900:

'Already Mr Churchill's head is carried with a droop which comes to those who read and study hard. When he is thinking he drops his head forward as if it were heavy. That is how you see him at one moment—a pose prophetic of what is too likely to fasten itself upon him before he reaches middle age. But it requires two plates to take a fair photograph of him, for the next time you look at him he has sprung to his feet with the eagerness of a boy, his pale blue eyes are sparkling,



his lips are parted, he is talking a vocal torrent, and hands and arms are driving home his words.'

This was the young man who set to work, as systematically as in everything else he undertook, to win the electors of Oldham. He succeeded and in October 1900 entered Parliament for the first time as a Conservative.

The strict party-man regards men like Winston Churchill with suspicion; a politician who changes his party is 'unreliable'—that is, you cannot be sure how he will vote. Winston Churchill has always insisted on thinking things out for himself; he began as a Conservative, but when he found that that party was not prepared to support policies which he felt were essential, he crossed the floor of the House of Commons and became a Liberal.

With a group of young men he did his utmost to awaken his first party to the needs of the times; a generous treatment of the Boers would certainly not come from a Conservative government. He could also speak with first-hand knowledge of the Army; here he could see much that needed putting right. He did not clamour for a big army; what he wanted was an efficient one, well directed. His trust was in the Navy. There was indeed nothing in his policy which could be labelled 'militarism'. He was much misunderstood at the time and later; it would have been better if more attention had been given to such utterances as this which came in a speech in the House of Commons in May 1901:—

'A European war can only end in the ruin of the vanquished and the scarcely less fatal commercial dislocation and exhaustion of the conquerors. Democracy

is more vindictive than cabinets. The wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of Kings.'

As his discontent grew with the failure—as he regarded it—of his own political party to tackle problems which called for attention, so Churchill's speeches became less and less to the liking of the Conservatives. Indeed so unpopular did he become that, when he got up to speak in the House on 27 March 1904, nearly two hundred and fifty of them got up and walked out. To these he seemed an impudent young man who was following the example his father had set in defying party discipline.

Amongst that father's greatest friends was Lord Rosebery who for a short period had been Liberal Prime Minister, but had then withdrawn from political warfare. Winston Churchill saw much of him at that period for he was engaged in writing the biography of Lord Randolph Churchill—deservedly a highly praised book. Doubtless the influence of Lord Rosebery played its part in turning the young Conservative into a young Liberal. When he made the change, Churchill was at once welcomed by a band of men of outstanding ability such as has seldom been found in any party on the verge of power. He stood for North-West Manchester and was returned at the election of 1906 which was to bring the Liberal Party into power. He was appointed Under-Secretary for the Colonies. As his chief, Lord Elgin, was a member of the House of Lords, Mr Churchill had the important and congenial task of seeing through the House of Commons the legislation necessary for settling the future government of South Africa. The bold action of the Liberal Government in granting such a generous measure of self-government to South Africa naturally appealed to

Winston Churchill, and he faced the opposition of his former party with his usual cheerful confidence. He now experienced what he was to suffer for some years, the bitter hostility of some of his opponents who never forgave him for his desertion—as they called it—of his original party. Sometimes this feeling found expression in personal abuse and even in libel, as when it was said that he had played a far from courageous part in South Africa. On one occasion an exasperated critic in the House of Commons threw a book at Mr Churchill and scored a hit.

In spite of this, he formed friendships with those on the opposite benches, notably, for instance, with a rising young Conservative, F. E. Smith, later Earl of Birkenhead. On his own front bench he found a warm friend in Mr David Lloyd George, the most brilliant orator and vigorous politician in the Cabinet.

His two years' experience at the Colonial Office was followed in 1908 by his appointment to the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade—not a picturesque position but valuable for the solid grounding it gave him in important affairs. John Morley—an elder statesman—was greatly attracted by this young man of thirty-three, and he gave him much friendly advice; he once referred to Mr Churchill's 'vitality, his indefatigable industry and attention to business, his remarkable gift of language and skill in argument'. This combination of gifts is unusual; many were entirely deceived then, and many have been since, by an exuberance of manner, and a certain mischievousness which will keep popping out, these critics have overlooked that 'indefatigable industry and attention to business' which John Morley noted down.

In September of the same year, 1908, he married Miss Clementine Hozier, and, as he put the matter when writing more than twenty years later, 'I married and lived happily ever afterwards.' This happy home life is an important factor in Mr Churchill's career; there has always been that in the background as a refuge and a comfort. Three daughters and a son (inevitably named Randolph) were to complete the family circle.

The most important work which fell to Mr Churchill as President of the Board of Trade was the establishment of a system of Unemployment Insurance and of Labour Exchanges. Old Age Pensions were instituted and National Health Insurance established. In all this social legislation, Mr Churchill took the liveliest interest and his speeches outside Parliament show how much he had at heart the welfare of the ordinary man and woman haunted by the spectres of unemployment and of sickness.

Then came the outburst over Mr Lloyd George's budget of 1909, which proposed increases in taxes on the well-to-do to meet the cost of social reforms, to-day the proposals seem mild, if not insignificant, but in those palmy days an increase of a few pence on the Income Tax was a matter of the gravest public concern. The proposals were as violently attacked by the threatened victims as they were defended by Mr Lloyd George; Mr Churchill was his leading supporter on the public platform, and when the House of Lords took the extreme and unprecedented course of rejecting the Budget, the cry of 'The Lords *versus* the People' created an uproar throughout the land. This was just the kind of situation which such a fighter could enjoy.

The antagonism to him reached amazing depths, and the scenes in the Commons showed the spirit of party at its ugliest.

Outside, too, there were new forms of opposition to face. The Suffragettes were ever busy devising new ways of annoying Cabinet Ministers at public meetings in the hope of getting 'Votes for Women'. Trouble was also brewing in Ireland, and the Home Rule Bill to which the Liberal Party was pledged was a source of bitter political feeling.

In 1910, Mr Churchill, at the age of thirty-five, became Home Secretary. He at once turned his thoughts to such problems as prison reform; so eager was he to effect progress that he could feel regret that more exciting matters such as the Lords, the Irish and the Suffragettes held up the good work. 'If we could only get it shunted,' he said, 'think of all we could do—by prisoners, feeble-minded, etc.'

His active mind was not content with the problems of his own office; he turned his attention to other matters and he favoured his Cabinet colleagues with detailed memoranda on all kinds of subjects—this was not a form of self-assertion so much as his way of sorting out his own ideas by getting them down on paper; it seemed a pity to deprive the rest of the Cabinet of the results.

His career as Home Secretary had as its high light his personal appearance in the drama of Sidney Street in January 1911. This was a sordid affair in which some criminals (usually referred to as 'anarchists') were run to earth in a house in that East London street, and replied to police demands by firing upon them and turning the house into a fortress. A strong body

of police laid siege to the house, and later asked the Home Secretary to authorize the sending of soldiers to help them. Mr Churchill at once gave permission and later visited the scene. This action of his was criticized as yet another example of his self-assertiveness, some charged him with interfering and giving orders. But a reporter who was there records, 'It is not so much that he consciously seeks the limelight as that the limelight follows him . . . There is no evidence that he took command of the situation, or indeed issued a single order. . . . His intense activity, his strong cerebration under stimulus, were his only faults, and those he could not help.'

It was but one conspicuous example of a Churchill characteristic—the desire to see things for himself and to judge the facts on the evidence of his own eyes. This again may be described as one aspect of another characteristic—his determination to face the facts of a situation however unpleasant they may be. He refuses to live in a dream world. This is not to say that he has no ideals; far from it, the speeches which have inspired a whole nation could only have done so by being the words of a man of vision. His vision however is based on reality.

At the time of the siege of Sidney Street, he was considering some unpleasant facts which some of his colleagues tried to avoid seeing clearly. He was watching the development of the German Navy and the work of the German Army; he noted, too, some of the boastful words of the Kaiser and the subsequent applause of the German people.

Mr Churchill has always recognized that the first care of any Government is the safety of the realm, and when

that is threatened all else must be 'shunted', as he said of domestic troubles with peers and suffragettes. He himself had so far followed his father's policy—which was the declared policy of the Liberal Party—of peace and retrenchment. He believed in a small but efficient Army with a strong Navy. Air power at that time was not a practical factor. Bleriot did not cross the Channel until 1909.

He was reluctant to believe that Germany really meant mischief; most people felt that the posturings of the Kaiser were just a form of showing-off, but there were some who were convinced that, if circumstances gave an excuse, Germany would not hesitate to seek an extension of its power.

The warning signal came a few months after Sidney Street. A German gunboat *Panther* went to Agadir in Morocco as a protest against the extension of French influence in that country. That action drew from Mr Lloyd George a clear statement of his country's attitude. 'If a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement—by allowing Britain to be treated, where her interests are vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the cabinet of nations—then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure.'

At that period there was a growing anxiety about German foreign policy. She had announced plans for developing the Navy. For what purpose? And the intensive training of her Army was regarded with some apprehension by all her neighbours. Great

Britain and France had come together in an *entente cordiale*, but the exact provisions of the understanding were not known outside an inner ring of highly placed ministers.

So far Mr Churchill had opposed any considerable extension of the British Navy, but had supported the far-reaching army reforms of the Secretary for War, J B Haldane, which made it possible for Great Britain to fulfil her promises to France in 1914. The Navy also needed a thorough overhaul, and the growing menace of German sea power turned Mr Churchill's thoughts to this problem. He was convinced much sooner than most of his colleagues that sooner or later there would be a clash with Germany, and it would come by way of France where there was strong desire to revenge the humiliations of 1870, when Germany had beaten France and occupied Paris.

It is typical of Mr Churchill that once his attention is captured by a problem, he will not let go until a solution is found. He circulated amongst his colleagues a memorandum on the 'military aspects of the Continental Problem'; a leading military authority dubbed it 'this silly memo', but events were to prove that its main argument was only too true.

Early in 1911, the Kaiser announced a further increase in the German naval programme, this led Mr Churchill to declare, 'for us a great fleet is a necessity, for Germany a luxury. It is existence for us; it is expansion for them.' This description of their fleet as a luxury gave bitter offence to the Germans.

At the same time, the Prime Minister, H H. Asquith, was also pondering over this problem, and in October 1911 he asked his young colleague to join him for a



holiday in Scotland. It is no exaggeration to say that as a result of that meeting, Great Britain was ready in 1914 to a far more advanced degree than she was in 1939. Haldane's reforms had, as has been noted, put the Army into shape, but he was chiefly worried at the lack of co-operation between the Army and Navy; this he knew must be the basis of a successful landing of British troops in France. Asquith, with his usual thoroughness, had weighed up all the arguments for and against the Navy's attitude. He decided that Haldane was right. It was with all this in mind that he asked Mr Churchill to talk the matter over with him and with Haldane (who was now a <sup>lord</sup> peer). Lord Haldane was inclined to urge that he himself should go to the Admiralty and that the younger man should replace him at the War Office. But in the end Mr Asquith asked Mr Churchill to become First Lord of the Admiralty—a suggestion which was immediately accepted. It is interesting to record Lord Haldane's hesitation at the appointment; his opinion was that Mr Churchill 'is too apt to act first and think afterwards—though of his energy and courage one cannot speak too highly'—an opinion of this 36-year-old Cabinet Minister which was long shared by Mr Churchill's critics. It is worth noting that it was the problem of co-ordination between Navy and Army which brought Mr Churchill to the Admiralty.

He very soon got down to work and it was not long before he placed new men in key positions, and was looking round for promising officers for future promotion: amongst the latter were Jellicoe and Beatty. The most amazing achievement, perhaps, was his working alliance with Lord Fisher—aged seventy and

just retired from the position of First Sea Lord. Fisher was one of the most extraordinary characters of his period: he had urged reforms in the Navy for years: and had been partly successful; he was chiefly noted for methods which he himself described as 'ruthless, relentless, and remorseless'. Soon the two men were in correspondence, and the fierce old seadog was signing his letters with such phrases as 'Yours to a cinder', 'Yours till charcoal sprouts', and 'Yours till Hell freezes'. He was particularly insistent on the need for more big ships of the Dreadnought type which he favoured, and for the use of oil in place of coal; but he was also a shrewd judge of a man's naval worth though apt to be biased by favouritism, which he once declared 'is the secret of efficiency'. The alliance between these two men was to prove of crucial importance when war came. Some would say it was a fatal alliance, but, to anticipate a little, Mr Churchill's own verdict may be quoted: 'My bringing Fisher back to the Admiralty in 1914 was one of the most hazardous steps I have ever had to take in my official duty. Certainly, so far as I was personally concerned, it was the most disastrous. Yet looking back to those tragic years I cannot feel that if I had to repeat the decision with the knowledge I had at that time, I should act differently.'

So intent was Mr Churchill at this period on naval affairs that he took less and less part in the social reform work of the Liberal Government; the problems of the House of Lords, of Home Rule for Ireland, and of Votes for Women, occupied public attention, and it was only occasionally that the German menace forced itself to the front. There were two deliberate efforts to

reach some kind of understanding with Germany; in 1912 Lord Haldane went to Berlin but did not succeed in finding common ground for discussion; then came Mr Churchill's own proposal, 'Suppose we were both to take a naval holiday in 1913, and introduce a blank page into the book of misunderstanding!' But that too produced no response.

One of Mr Churchill's characteristics is his ability to make decisions, to act on them and to take the responsibility. Sometimes the wisdom of the decisions may be questioned, but where other men hesitate and do nothing he is prepared to take risks. It should, however, be remembered that his decisions are based on a very thorough examination of the evidence, but even so risks must be taken at times. A good example of this was his order for the secret construction of 15-inch guns in place of the 13.5 guns intended for the Dreadnoughts. He felt there was no time to make trial guns, so the risk was taken on the basis of his confidence in the Navy's gun experts. The gamble came off, but if those guns had proved too big for the ships that had to carry them, his career at the Admiralty would have ended in disgrace.

Another of his plans was the building up of the Royal Naval Air Service. He was quick to see that aeroplanes would be of immense value for observation work, and he encouraged experiments and even learned to fly those rudimentary machines, as they now seem to us. By the summer of 1914 there were nearly a hundred aircraft ready. It is said that Mr Churchill was responsible for the new terms 'seaplane' and 'flight'.

As a result of such actions and the working out of plans in co-operation with the War Office, Great Britain was in the greatest degree of preparedness in 1914 that

she has ever been before a war By chance the Navy was fully ready when war broke out in August of that year. The King held a naval review in the middle of July when over 200 ships passed the saluting point. They were not immediately dispersed but were kept in the Channel or at home ports Suddenly the international situation became heavy with dangerous possibilities. The murder of the Austrian Archduke by Serbs had provided an excuse for German aggression. The British Cabinet was anxiously watching every fateful move in a drama which seemed to move forward relentlessly. When Mr Churchill heard the news on 1 August that Germany had declared war on Russia, he mobilized the Fleet on his own responsibility—a daring decision to take which could only be justified, as it was, by the outbreak of hostilities. Jellicoe was put in command of the Grand Fleet On the night of 4 August war was declared The preparedness of the Fleet meant that the first Expeditionary Force crossed to France without mishap. *much remark 3 1917*

When Mr Churchill left the Admiralty, the Minister of War, Lord Kitchener—who had long forgiven a young officer's criticisms of his campaign in Egypt—said to him, 'There is one thing they cannot take from you : the Fleet was ready.'

Mr Churchill's career during the first World War falls into three parts : up to 15 November 1915 he was at the Admiralty ; from then until July 1917 he was with the Army in the field, or in his place as an M.P. ; the last period he spent as Minister of Munitions. It is not possible here to do more than sketch the main lines of events , even now their significance is disputable The stormiest period was the first, and this might have been

easier if Mr Churchill had not brought back Lord Fisher to the Admiralty. The man of forty and the man of seventy-four worked well together for a time, but the veteran became more and more crochety as the strain on him increased. The public felt that Fisher was right—after all, he was a sailor; whereas when things went wrong they blamed Mr Churchill—who was not a sailor and was always pushing himself forward; look at Sidney Street! His opponents in the House of Commons seized on every naval set-back to attack him. The records of those first months make sad reading, for they reveal a personal animosity which ignored the claims of patriotism

Only two events can be referred to here—and then only briefly as examples of Mr Churchill's policy and action, and the opposition he provoked. It should be noted, however, that he made very little effort to placate his critics, and that he remained loyal to his colleagues when he could quite easily have excused himself at their expense.

At the beginning of October, with the battle of the Marne in full swing, it looked as though Antwerp must fall. Kitchener regarded the prospect with anxiety; somehow the city must be held to prevent the German forces from reaching the coast. A midnight conference in London resulted in Kitchener's suggestion that Mr Churchill should go to Antwerp and if possible persuade the Belgians to hold on. Naturally the answer was 'Yes', but it was equally obvious that the job was very much to his liking. He went to Antwerp, and his arrival undoubtedly did stiffen resistance for a few valuable days. On his return he was criticized severely; some said it was just another bit of self-advertising;

others that he had exceeded Kitchener's instructions. It was not until after the war that the real facts could be given.

The second event was the Dardanelles or Gallipoli expedition. This again is an event which will be discussed as long as history is read, and the verdict will depend very largely on what the individual thinks of Mr Churchill.

At the beginning of 1915 it was felt that some kind of additional way of attack—what we should call a Second Front—was desirable to relieve pressure on the Western Front and, if possible, to deal a mortal blow at the enemy. Lord Fisher rather favoured an attack on the Kiel Canal and so to open up the Baltic, but he did not produce any definite plan. Sir Maurice Hankey, Secretary of the Imperial Defence Committee, suggested the Dardanelles—a back way into the Balkans and to Russia as well as the obvious place to drive a wedge between the Germans and their allies the Turks. Mr Churchill liked the idea and proceeded to explore the possibilities by consulting the naval commander in the eastern Mediterranean as well as other experts. He put the suggestion before the Cabinet. An historian has recently noted, 'Lord Kitchener approved; Lord Fisher and Sir Arthur Wilson made no comment; and the War Council accepted the proposal. The subsequent arrangements were made without eliciting an indication of dissent from any quarter.'

Then Fisher's nerves gave way, and after the operation had begun, he suddenly resigned in protest against the expedition. The rest of the Gallipoli story is sad reading. There was tragic loss of life; there was want of co-operation between Navy and Army, and then a

withdrawal was made under the worst conditions just when a little extra determination might have brought success. Fisher's resignation and the lack of a spectacular success in Gallipoli brought all the wolves after Mr Churchill. The possibility of a Coalition Government was being discussed, and the Conservative leaders were not prepared to see Mr Churchill in any office of importance. So, under that pressure, Mr Asquith re-formed his Cabinet and Mr Churchill received the unimportant office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

What was the case against him? It was more general than particular; that is to say men were violently moved to opposition not so much by this or that action, but by his whole manner and method. Sir Reginald Bacon, Lord Fisher's biographer, has put this antagonism into words. 'His keen brain and fertile imagination served to strengthen his belief in his own infallibility. His indomitable energy caused him to meddle in innumerable details that were infinitely better left to the technical officers who had the practical experience necessary to deal with them. His immense range of superficial knowledge beguiled him into believing that that knowledge was accurate and profound.'

That harsh judgment of Mr Churchill's early career was not without foundation, though it certainly goes too far. Time and experience have helped to take off some of the sharp angles. It should be remembered that when he left the Admiralty he was still only 40 years of age.

This must have been one of the most depressing periods of Mr Churchill's life: he was young, full of energy, and passionately anxious to serve his country

at a critical stage of a war which was not going too well ; yet he was relegated to a post of no consequence and with no real work attached to it. For a time he endured the situation, but finally he asked to be relieved so that he could join the army at the front. Mr Asquith agreed, and so in November 1915 Major Winston S Churchill reported for duty in France. He was attached to the 2nd Grenadier Guards to get first-hand knowledge of trench warfare : his reception was cold, but, as always, he learned his job thoroughly and soon showed that he was no <sup>careerist</sup> carpet soldier. He was promoted to command the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers and spent much of his time in the front line. One typical remark of his is worth recording. His headquarters was very unsafe and a visiting General thought it 'a very dangerous place'. To which Colonel Churchill replied, 'Yes, sir, but, after all, this is a dangerous war.'

A man of his quality cannot be for ever kept in the background. Soon friends of eminent standing came to consult with him, it is notable that these were of both political parties, just as his opponents were similarly distributed. Then he began to feel his feet again and soon a stream of memoranda reached members of the Government on all kinds of subjects ; some of them, didn't like it ; the man was irrepressible ! (Baden-Powell once remarked that Mr Churchill was like a rubber ball, the more you try to squash it, the higher it bounces.) Friends urged him to return to the House of Commons so that his criticisms could be known. From March 1916 he appeared more and more frequently in the House and spoke his mind. He was particularly pressing, amongst other matters, on the need for forming an Air Ministry.



In December 1916, Mr Asquith was forced to resign and was succeeded by Mr Lloyd George, who much wanted to have Mr Churchill as a colleague, but the Conservatives prevented any such appointment. By July 1917 Mr Lloyd George's own position was so much stronger that he could ignore such protests, and he made Mr Churchill Minister of Munitions—not a War Cabinet appointment, but an important position. It gave him, for instance, a chance to push forward with the construction of tanks. He had given an order for the first one to be constructed as far back as February 1915—though it was not quite clear what the First Lord of the Admiralty was doing with experiments in a land weapon; by calling them 'landships'—their first name—it looked a little less odd. He ordered eighteen without consulting the Admiralty or the Army Council. His successor at the Admiralty cancelled the order for all but one; fortunately the trials with this survivor proved sufficiently encouraging for the War Office to get reckless and order forty! They were first used in action at Thiepval on 15 September 1916. Though Mr Churchill did not invent the tank, his is the credit for the vision to get experimental ones made long before their possibilities were generally recognized.

As Minister of Munitions his time was not fully occupied, and more and more Mr Lloyd George consulted him on important matters and used him for difficult missions to the French leaders when the situation was very grave. Thus Mr Churchill was concerned with the early stages of the negotiations which led to the appointment of Marshal Foch to the supreme command. He was still Minister of Munitions when the Armistice of 11 November 1918 was declared. That evening he

had dinner with the Prime Minister and suggested that food ships should be sent at once to relieve the hungry Germans. But such a generous action was not in tune with the mood of the day, which found expression in such slogans as 'Hang the Kaiser' and 'Squeeze Germany till the pips squeak'. It was in such a temper that a General Election was at once fought and Mr Churchill found it expedient not to go against the stream. In the new Coalition Government he became Secretary of State for War. He had three main tasks to perform first, there was the problem of returning men from the army to civil life; second, the organization of the Army of Occupation on the Rhine, and third, the question of intervention in Russia. It has sometimes been said that Mr Churchill was responsible for the help the Allies gave to the anti-revolutionary forces of Admiral Koltchak and General Denikin. Actually this policy had been decided before Mr Churchill went to the War Office, but it had his fullest support: he has never concealed his opposition to all forms of socialism either that advocated by the relatively mild Labour Party of his own country, or the full-blooded communism of the Bolshevik party. The plan faded out, partly through war weariness of the Allies, and partly because the workers of this country were so strongly opposed to intervention in Russia, even going so far as to refuse to load ships with munitions destined for the White Army in its fight against the Red Army.

In 1921 Mr Churchill was transferred to the Colonial Office as there were special problems there which Mr Lloyd George felt he could best handle. The details need not occupy space here; the most interesting fact is that his negotiations in the Middle East brought him

into contact with Lawrence of Arabia, who later testified that Mr Churchill 'in a few weeks made straight all the tangle, finding solutions, fulfilling (I think) our promises in letter and spirit (when humanly possible) without sacrificing any interest of our Empire or any interest of the peoples concerned'. He had also to handle the thorny problem of the Irish Treaty and its consequences, and then too there was the Turkish-Greek quarrel in which Great Britain and France were involved. So, as Colonial Secretary, he had his hands full, for that post then covered all matters concerned with the Empire Overseas—including the Dominions.

By the autumn of 1922, the Conservative Party felt it was time to break up the Coalition, and in the General Election which followed Mr Lloyd George failed to win sufficient support and he left office, as it proved, for ever; and Mr Churchill lost his seat. He was no longer an ardent Liberal—the party indeed had split into contending fragments; moreover he was ill and unable to fight with his usual spirit. 'In the twinkling of an eye,' he wrote, 'I found myself without an office, without a party, and without an appendix'.

For two years he was out of the House of Commons, and had it not been for his versatility, he might have despaired of his own future. He was busily engaged in writing his account of the first World War under the title of *The World Crisis*, and for relaxation he turned to painting in oils—an art he had begun to practise just after his dismissal from the Admiralty in 1915. Since then he has gained much happiness from the exercise of his ability on holidays abroad or in rare intervals of leisure at home; he does not take the results seriously though they show more than average skill, and some

have been exhibited in the Paris Salon. This hobby has also helped him in his writing, for he has acquired the painter's habit of seeing pictures as he goes about, and this is a valuable aid when scenes have to be described in words.

The interval also allowed time for adjusting his political position. More and more he was becoming concerned at the rising tide of socialism as evidenced by the increasing strength of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, so much so that in one of his frustrated efforts to return there, he called himself an Anti-Socialist.

He returned to the House of Commons in 1924 with the label of 'Constitutionalist', and to everyone's surprise, the Prime Minister, Mr Baldwin, invited him to become Chancellor of the Exchequer. So at the age of fifty he occupied the office his father had held thirty-eight years earlier; it was a proud day when the son put on the official robe the father had worn. Mr Churchill introduced five Budgets, but finance was not his subject and allowed little outlet for his own 'genius'. His Cabinet colleagues found him troublesome, for his varied experience of office gave him an unusually wide knowledge of their duties, and the memoranda he submitted were not well received. Mr Baldwin complained that the Cabinet whenever it met 'had first to deal with some extremely clever memorandum submitted by him on the work of some department other than his own'.

One incident again made his name notorious. During the General Strike of 1926 he edited for eight days an official news sheet, *British Gazette*, as a substitute for the daily papers which had ceased publication.

Three years later the Government fell and was succeeded by a Labour Government. Mr Churchill was this time returned as a Conservative, but he took the opportunities of his freedom from office to go off to the Canadian Rockies for a painting trip.

From that year onwards the political scene darkened. There was first the disastrous rise in unemployment and the economic crisis in Great Britain; the United States, seemingly so secure, was to experience a similar blizzard a few years later. In 1933 Germany became the tool of the Nazi Party under Adolf Hitler, and within two years the real character of the new régime was revealed in all its beastliness.

During this period, Mr Churchill had few supporters in the House of Commons. He opposed the Conservative Party with all his Parliamentary skill when the India Bill was under discussion. He was again at variance with the leader of his party during the Abdication Crisis in December 1936. Indeed most observers would have said at that time that, as a politician, Mr Churchill was finished.

On the other hand as a writer his reputation was increasing. In addition to his books on the first World War, he wrote of his early life and published a series of sketches of great men he had known. His most sustained work, however, was his biography of his ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough. Mr G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., until recently Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, has said this of Mr Churchill's *Marlborough*. 'It combines qualities too seldom found together in historical work—swinging narrative, careful study of the authorities, clear technical exposition, acute insight into several of the principal

characters, and an understanding of the conditions of the period so different from those of our own.'

In Parliament Mr Churchill continued to be a man apart, for he found himself opposed to all parties on the right policy to follow in foreign affairs. It is only necessary to mention some of the outstanding events to realize how serious was the position—Japan's seizure of Manchuria, Italy's attack on Abyssinia, the re-occupation of the Rhineland by German troops, the building of a new German fleet, the Spanish civil war—with Germany and Italy assisting one side and Russia the other—and then the seizure of Albania by Italy.

Mr Churchill urged two lines of policy: first, collective action under the League of Nations, and second, an increase in our own armaments, especially in the Air Force, to warn off aggressors. It would be possible to fill many pages with extracts from his speeches and writings to show how desperately he tried to arouse the Government and the nation to the peril. One passage from an article he wrote on Hitler in 1935 will serve as an example—

'Meanwhile, he makes speeches to the nations, which are sometimes characterized by candour and moderation. Recently he has offered many words of reassurance, eagerly lapped up by those who have been so tragically wrong about Germany in the past. Only time can show, but, meanwhile, the great wheels revolve, the rifles, the cannon, the tanks, the shot and shell, and air bombs, the poison-gas cylinders, the aeroplanes, and submarines, and now the beginnings of a fleet flow in ever-broadening streams from the already largely war-mobilized arsenals and factories of Germany'

It may well be asked—as future generations will ask—‘Why were his warnings ignored?’ There is no simple answer, but several contributing reasons may be noted. Most people were reluctant to believe that any man or any nation would wantonly start war with our modern powers of destruction. There was the League of Nations to deal with all problems, and the League had become to most people what the Maginot Line was to become to the French—a kind of Insurance Policy which would mature at the right time ! But most powerful of all was the failure of the Government to tell the facts to the nation. The excuse has been made that the nation would not have believed any such statement, but the first duty of a Government is to ensure the safety of the realm and had the truth been put with all possible authority, the nation might have been awakened from its torpor several years earlier than was the actual fact. It is, moreover, difficult now to realize how much Mr Churchill at that period was distrusted. These pages have shown to what a degree the Conservative Party disliked him, and how the Liberal Party in its broken state had no clear place for him. Labour had a number of grudges against him—labour troubles over munitions during the last part of the war, the Russian campaign, his anti-socialist stand, and the *British Gazette*—to mention but a few. Most people regarded him as a man of the past and apt to be bellicose and rash. It is little wonder that he failed to carry many with him in his plea for an effective League and a stronger Britain.

When Mr Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister in May 1937, there was still no place for Mr Churchill in the Government. He was less than ever interested in the etiquette of party politics and caused further

annoyance to his own party by appearing at an anti-Nazi demonstration at the Albert Hall with Mr Herbert Morrison and Sir Walter Citrine, both of whom came in for some severe criticism from their Labour and Trade Union colleagues. His warnings became more and more harsh 'Dictators', he said, 'ride to and fro on tigers from which they dare not dismount. And the tigers are getting hungry' He has always shown a taste for picturesque metaphors such as that, or like the following: 'I have watched this famous island descending incessantly, fecklessly, the stairway which leads to a dark gulf. It is a fine broad stairway at the beginning, but after a bit the carpet ends. A little farther on there are only flag-stones, and a little farther on still these break beneath your foot'

He had as little use for Mr Chamberlain's policy of trying to come to terms with Germany and Italy by yielding something of their demands to them—the policy known as appeasement—as for Mr Baldwin's policy of doing nothing and hoping for the best. 'I predict', went one of his warnings, 'that the day will come when at some point or other, on some issue or other, you will have to make a stand, and I pray God that when that day comes we may not find that through an unwise policy we are left to make that stand alone'

It is not necessary to follow here, still less to discuss in detail, the international events of 1937 to 1939. There was a very deep-felt desire for peace, and Mr Chamberlain's efforts were generally welcomed even when there was some misgiving, for many realized that Great Britain and France were going a long way beyond the usual bounds of national pride in trying to placate the enemy. Unhappily the more that was yielded, the more



was demanded. Mr Churchill's comment was that 'the German dictator, instead of snatching the victuals from the table, has been content to have them served to him course by course'.

Some urged that he should be included in the Government, but a predominantly Conservative Cabinet was reluctant to have such an unorthodox colleague, and it was not until war was declared that he resumed the post of First Lord of the Admiralty, which he had left twenty-four years earlier. Soon afterwards it became apparent that the country looked to him rather than to the Prime Minister for its inspiration. Mr Churchill was a loyal colleague of Mr Chamberlain, but the Prime Minister spoke with the accents of a bitterly disillusioned man and seemed unable to change his mood, whereas the First Lord of the Admiralty voiced the determination and courage of the country in its crisis. Here, for instance, is a typical passage from a speech made at the beginning of 1940.

'Come, then, let us to the task, to the battle and the toil. Each to our part, each to our station. Fill the armies, rule the air, pour out the munitions, strangle the U-boats, sweep the mines, plough the land, build the ships, guard the streets, succour the wounded, uplift the downcast, and honour the brave.

'Let us go forward together in all parts of the Empire, in all parts of this island. There is not a week, nor a day, nor an hour to be lost'

No one doubted that sooner or later the Government must be broadened to include all parties, and most people felt that Mr Churchill was the man to lead it. After the catastrophe of Norway it was evident that Mr Chamberlain no longer inspired any confidence, and as the

Labour Party refused to work with him, he made way for the obvious successor Mr Churchill did not attempt to speak 'smooth things'. In his first speech as Prime Minister, in May 1940, he used one of those many memorable expressions which have become, as it were, key ideas for the nation. 'I have nothing to offer but blood and toil, tears and sweat'

He went on to say, 'You ask us what is our aim I can give the answer in one word—it is victory, victory, victory at all costs, victory in spite of all peril, victory however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival—and let that be realized, no survival for the British Empire, no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, but mankind shall move forward towards its goal, and I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. *spirit*

'I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men I feel entitled, at this juncture, to claim the aid of all, and I say. "Come then, let us go forward together with our united strength"'

Here is illustrated that important characteristic of the Prime Minister which has already been noted—his inflexible facing of facts He sees them fairly and squarely and weighs them up, he offers no easy optimism but a challenge In that, as in so much else, he has expressed the deepest feelings of the nation, and that is one reason why, for the first time in his long political career, he is a popular figure. His voice over the air has brought encouragement, but never false hopes; he has roused that pride of country which seldom lets itself go, except in such expressions as 'Well, we're in the final now!' when Great Britain was left alone to face

the enemy after the fall of France. At that critical moment, Mr Churchill struck the right note. 'Let us brace ourselves to our duty and so bear ourselves that, if the British Commonwealth and Empire last for a thousand years, men will say: 'This was their finest hour.'

As long as history is read, his summing up of the Battle of Britain will be recalled, 'Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.'

There is another characteristic which is of the highest importance: Mr Churchill takes long views—he looks far ahead so that action to-day may lead to valuable results in the future by being part of a well-thought-out pattern. We cannot yet know how far his ideas have guided and still guide strategy, but there is reason to believe that the North Africa campaign was his idea: he knew it meant long months of waiting; it meant resisting popular clamours for a Second Front; but in the long run it meant striking—as it proved—a mortal blow at the enemy. As in his earlier days, he counted the cost and took the risk and responsibility of the decision. The difference may be that he now takes more advice before making up his mind.

This long-term vision is also seen in his dealing with the United States. When war broke out, the United States was fiercely isolationist—not again would it get involved in an Old World squabble! But some far-sighted men saw that the New World could not divorce itself from the Old, and this became even clearer after the fall of France. Without attempting to teach the States, Mr Churchill did not conceal his own belief that the Nazi lust for power would not limit itself to Europe but was indeed already laying plans for capturing all the Americas.

So he welcomed the increasing contacts between his mother country and his mother's country.

In June 1940 he could declare

'We shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, will carry on the struggle until in God's good time the New World, with all its power and might, sets forth to the liberation and rescue of the Old' *427 60*

Later when Great Britain leased a series of naval bases to the States he said, 'these two great organizations of the English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage'. He must have felt that at last the mixing-up was becoming reality when in August 1941 he met Mr Roosevelt at sea and with him drew up the Atlantic Charter, the herald of an even closer association and of later meetings in Washington, in Quebec, at Casablanca, in Cairo with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and in Teheran with Marshal Stalin.

His achievement cannot yet be measured—it will be many years before the full story can be pieced together, but there can be no doubt of one fact: Winston Churchill has become part of the history of his country to a degree granted to few men, and he has also become part of the daily life of his countrymen. They read of his journeyings here and there, seeing things for himself as in Sidney Street days; they hear his voice over the air and gain courage while appreciating his turn for invective and rough wit; they like his English way of pronouncing foreign names;

they see him in the News Reels—a stooping, thick-set figure, a cigar in his mouth or in his hand, moving with quick steps as he looks at bomb damage or a gun site, or paces the deck of a battleship ; they like his tendency to dress the part and his obvious liking for a uniform. It is all in keeping with the story of his varied and adventurous life. What they really think of him can best be said in the words of an American farmer.

In 1943, Mr Hilary St George Saunders, author of *The Battle of Britain* and other official accounts of aspects of the war, was touring the United States and met in the Middle-West Mr and Mrs Koons, the farmer parents of Corporal Koons, the first soldier of the U.S Army to kill a German in this war. Here is part of his account of the meeting :

‘ At the first mention of Mr Churchill’s name Mr Koons paused and our talk faded. His red face burned redder, his bright eyes brighter. He leant across the table and took hold of my wrist. “ Have you seen him ? ” he asked. I nodded.

‘ “ Have you spoken to him ? ”

‘ “ Only once and that was before the war when he was a private member, and, as Assistant Librarian of the House of Commons, I asked him to autograph the Library’s copy of his *Life of Marlborough*.”

‘ “ But you do still see him ? ”

‘ “ Yes, very often, and I listen to his speeches in Parliament and on the radio ”

‘ “ When you see him next, if you speak to him, tell him ”—Mr Koons paused a moment and then said very loudly : “ that he is a VERY GREAT MAN and that he will save us all.” ’

## FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT (pronounced 'Rosevelt') belongs to one of the old families of the United States. The name rightly suggests a Dutch origin, and the founder of the line was a Claus Martenszen of Rosenvelt, who arrived in New Amsterdam (now New York) from Holland early in the seventeenth century. From two of his grandsons, John and James, descended two Presidents; from John came Theodore Roosevelt (President, 1901-9), and from James the Mr Roosevelt who first became President in 1933.

Sometimes reference is made to Mr Roosevelt's Dutch characteristics, but actually there is very little Dutch blood in his veins, for his ancestors married outside that nationality. Through his grandmothers he can claim descent from three of the pilgrims on the *Mayflower*. It has been said that he is three per cent Dutch, seven per cent Swedish and German, and ninety per cent English in his descent, of one thing we can be certain—he is one hundred per cent American!

The Roosevelts are not one of the very wealthy families of the States, they have been content to build up a fair fortune which they have preferred to enjoy in cultured pursuits rather than by frenzied dealings in stocks and shares. Thus James Roosevelt, the father of the President, chose to enjoy the life of a country gentleman on his estate at Hyde Park along the beautiful Hudson River about eighty miles north of New York. By a first marriage he had one son James, and then at the

age of fifty-two he married Sara Delano, who was twenty-six years of age. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, their only child, was born on 30 January 1882.

There was every possibility that he would be spoilt, for both parents doted on him. The decision not to send him to school at the usual age might have proved disastrous, for the boy was living an abnormal life on a large country estate, but this was partly overcome by his having some lessons with the children of a rich family in the neighbourhood. His father, however, believed that outdoor life and contact with nature would be far more valuable than a lot of book-learning in early years. Not that the boy was mollycoddled ; he was encouraged to enjoy all country activities such as riding and shooting, and as soon as possible he was introduced to the delights of the river. The family also had a summer retreat on Campobello Island off the coast of Maine and opposite Nova Scotia , here the boy learned to sail a boat and was given one of his own when he was fourteen years old. This was the beginning of a passion for the sea and for ships which has never lessened : indeed his boyhood dream was that he should go into the Navy

A further part of his informal education was provided by the visits to Europe he made from a very early age with his parents. Few boys have had such a varied training outside the walls of a school.

It was not until he was fourteen years old that he was sent to Groton, a school run much on the lines of an English Public School. One incident of his schooldays is worth relating. The war between the United States and Spain broke out in Cuba in 1898 after the Spanish had vainly tried for three years to suppress a rebellion. Theodore Roosevelt raised a Troop of Rough

Riders and joined the American forces. Franklin Roosevelt planned with a friend to slip away from school, go to Boston and there enlist in the Navy for the war. An attack of measles frustrated this scheme. It may be noted that an English officer, Winston Churchill, eight years senior to young Roosevelt, had served as a volunteer in the Spanish Army in Cuba in 1895.

At the age of eighteen Franklin Roosevelt left Groton for Harvard University. During his first year there his father died, the relation between father and son had been close and affectionate and the loss was deeply felt. From now onwards his mother was to play a great part in his life, with a boy of less sturdy personality this might have proved a drawback, but Franklin Roosevelt is not the type of person who is easily moulded to another's will. The two travelled together in Europe, and Mrs James Roosevelt took a house near the University, but he lived his own life and developed his own tastes.

He was not a scholar and his University career was creditable without being brilliant. In his last year he specialized in government and international law and he acquired useful rather than deep knowledge of his subjects. His love for the sea had found an outlet in the making of a collection of books, prints and other material relating to the United States Navy. The search for these took him to many a bookstall or print shop in the cities of Europe and provided him with a useful purpose during his travels with his mother. He now has the finest private collection on this subject. Another hobby which began in his boyhood days was stamp-collecting and this is still a relaxation for him from the cares of State.



At Harvard he took an active share in sports and games and in the social life. He became editor of the College newspaper, *The Crimson*, and in its pages wrote his first essays in reform with some suggestions—not very revolutionary—about the organization of the College.

He was still at Harvard when the South African War was waged. He declared himself a pro-Boer and set to work to raise funds for the Boers. While he was doing this, that other young man, Winston Churchill, was captured by the Boers and made his name by a sensational escape.

By the time Franklin Roosevelt left Harvard in 1904, he had been persuaded to give up his plan for a naval career, and he went on to the Columbia Law School. He did not take his training very seriously, it was as if he was still hesitating about his future. There was no need for him to earn a living, but a man of his character cannot long rest content with amusing himself as a country gentleman. It was just at this time that an event took place which was to mean a great deal to his future, but in a way which would not then have occurred to either of the principal actors.

The Roosevelt clan is large and the members are fond of getting together from time to time. It was at one of these meetings that Franklin came to know and like a distant cousin Eleanor, the niece of Theodore Roosevelt. She had not had too happy a girlhood and she was therefore swept off her feet when her very handsome relative Franklin not only took notice of her, but obviously sought her company.

When he announced to his mother that he intended marrying Eleanor, Mrs James Roosevelt urged delay; she took him off for a winter cruise; but, not for the

last time, her son was to show that once having made up his mind he could be resolute in getting his own way. So the marriage took place in 1904 before the young husband had finished his training in the Law. It is surprising that the result was not a failure, for Mrs James Roosevelt practically took charge, even building, furnishing and organizing her son's house; the wife's complete devotion to her husband and the cares of a large family probably prevented much unhappiness, there were six children, including five boys of whom one died young. It was only gradually that Mrs Franklin Roosevelt took over control of the household from Mrs James Roosevelt.

After completing his course at the Columbia Law School, Mr Roosevelt joined a firm of lawyers in New York and specialized in maritime law. He did not give his whole time to the work for the outdoor life at Hyde Park and Campobella, as well as travel, especially in Europe, appealed to him far more strongly than a lawyer's office. There are no signs that he was seriously planning a political career though his admiration for his relative, Theodore Roosevelt, must have turned his mind in that direction from time to time. His position as a Roosevelt inevitably made people think of him when local political affairs were under discussion, and it was in this way that he was persuaded to take his first step in political life.

To understand the background of his career, it is necessary to know something of the way in which the United States is governed.

The flag of the United States, the Stars and Stripes, when first used after the Declaration of Independence in 1777, showed thirteen red and white stripes, and

thirteen stars, to signify the thirteen States which existed at that time. There are now forty-eight stars as the number of States has reached that figure ; the number of stripes remains the same. It must be remembered that these States enjoy almost equal and sovereign powers. They are joined together in the federation which we know as the United States ; the Federal Government—which has its seat at Washington—exercises certain general powers, such as the control of foreign policy, but each State makes and enforces laws of its own, raises its taxes, provides schools and highways, and so on. There is a tendency, strongly opposed by some, to increase the Federal powers ; the best known recent example are the G-men, who are Federal officers and can enter any State in pursuit of a criminal. Each State, then, has its own Governor and its Senate with a lower House of Representatives.

The Federal Government has as its head a President, elected for four years, who has extensive powers of action ; he appoints his own Cabinet or committee of advisers, nor need they be members of Congress, which is the elected body of representatives of two houses—the Senate and the Lower House. It is 'quite wrong to think of the President as similar to our Prime Minister, with a Cabinet chosen mainly from the House of Commons and partly from the House of Lords. For one thing neither the President nor the members of his Cabinet attend Congress to submit to questions by the members or to propose legislation. The President is, indeed, for his term of office, one of the most powerful men in the world, but he is constantly under criticism both from Congress and from the public and there are various checks on his powers. A man who feels drawn to a

public life in the United States has a number of paths open to him. He can enter the Congress of his own State (this means much more than becoming a member of one of our County Councils), or he can aim at the Lower House of the Federal Congress. To become President he need not have been a member of a State Congress nor of the Federal Congress, but he must be accepted by one of the two main parties, the Democrats or the Republicans.

These two parties are quite unlike the parties in other countries which have a Parliamentary System. To-day it would be very difficult to say what differences in policy there are between Democrats and Republicans, since each has within its own ranks a considerable range of ideas; some want to keep things as they are with a minimum of change; others call for radical changes. Originally the distinction was one of history. The Democrats were the people of the Southern States who depended on cotton-growing and slave labour; they were opposed to any extension of Federal power and took up arms to support the right to withdraw from the Union, they were defeated in the American Civil War. The Republicans were mostly in the Northern States and they held firmly to the Federal idea. Gradually these historic differences have lost all meaning, and, as a recent authority has said, 'The Republican and Democratic parties may, indeed, be defined as groups of persons united to choose presidential candidates.'

In 1910 there were elections for the Senate of New York State. This must not be confused with New York City; the State stretches from Long Island to Lake Ontario and its capital is Albany on the Hudson River. Hyde Park is in Dutchess County and was regarded as

a safe Republican seat, but the Democrats wanted to put up a good fight and they looked round for a 'likely candidate. Who better than young Mr Roosevelt? His family was Democratic; he was well enough off, and he was handsome and attractive. After some persuasion he consented to stand, but at once his independent outlook showed itself. He was not prepared to be run by anyone; as he put it, 'I am influenced by no specific interests: and so I shall remain. If elected I will give my entire time to serving the people of this district. In the coming campaign I need not tell you that I do not intend to sit still—we are going to have a very strenuous month.' These words might be a text for his whole political career. He has never been the yes-man of a party and he has never spared himself in carrying out his duties. And certainly 'a very strenuous month' has stretched itself into years.

He campaigned hard and toured the constituency in a motor-car so that he became personally known to electors in remote villages. To everyone's surprise he was elected and was the first Democrat to sit for that constituency for thirty-two years. His next step was typical: instead of being content, as was usual, with staying at an hotel in Albany for the shortest possible period during the session, he took a house there so that he could carry out his promise to give his 'entire time to serving the people'. It was perhaps almost as important that for the first time Mrs Franklin Roosevelt was now at last in full control of her own house without a mother-in-law within call. Of this period she wrote, 'He looked thin then, tall, high-strung and, at times, nervous. White skin and fair hair, deep-set blue eyes and clear-cut features. No lines as yet on his face, but

at times a set look of his jaw denoted that this apparently pliable youth has strength and Dutch obstinacy in his make-up. . . . Public service, whether my husband was in or out of office, was to be a part of our daily life from now on. To him it was a career in which he was completely absorbed. He probably could not have formulated his political philosophy at that time as he could to-day (1938), but the science of government was interesting—and people, the ability to understand them, the play of your own personality on theirs, this was a fascinating study to him’

It would not serve any useful purpose to follow in detail Mr Roosevelt’s career as a Senator of the State of New York. This apprenticeship period brought out certain characteristics which have become even more marked with the passing of a generation. Note has already been made of his independent attitude towards his party; he was not prepared to bow to the dictates of the party bosses, and he first made himself known by his successful opposition to their wishes, so that the *New York Times* headed a report in 1911 with the words, ‘Senator F. D. Roosevelt, Chief Insurgent at Albany’. Then too, as his wife noted, he learned much about the management of men; his good fellowship, cheerful spirits and ready laugh are great assets, but they are part of the very nature of the man and are not assumed for electioneering purposes only. Those who mistook the geniality for weakness, forgot the jutting chin! *cheer*

The next important stage in his career came with the election of the Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, as President in 1913. This in itself was a striking event, for Wilson was the first man of Southern birth to become President since the Civil War of 1861-1865, and he was of the

scholarly type which rarely reaches such a high position. Mr Roosevelt as a Democrat was naturally attracted to the new President who had already proved his progressive outlook and independence as Governor of New Jersey, and Woodrow Wilson was also interested in this young bearer of the name of Roosevelt who had shown his quality as a Senator at Albany. It was not therefore surprising that Mr Roosevelt was offered a post in the new Administration at Washington. After declining two uncongenial positions, he accepted that of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. His knowledge of naval history and of seamanship were useful assets, but he had still to prove that he had administrative ability. He took office in March 1913, eighteen months after Mr Churchill had gone to the Admiralty.

It was natural that a young and vigorous Secretary—he was only 31—should be in favour of a more powerful and efficient Navy. His speeches on this theme were not at first taken very seriously; but the outbreak of the first World War gave more point to his pleadings, though, at that time, few in the United States believed that they would become involved in what looked like a purely European affair; moreover the President had emphatically declared that American citizens must be neutral not only in act but in thought—a statement which his young Assistant was to re-frame a quarter of a century later when he suggested that while actions might be neutral, thoughts could be free.

Woodrow Wilson had a considerable influence over Mr Roosevelt. The President was a man of strong ideals and he was to show audacity in trying to realize them in home affairs and later in international politics. We are apt to forget his considerable achievements in

both spheres, because the United States finally refused his League of Nations scheme. It would be possible to draw many and close parallels between his policy and that of Mr Roosevelt; they had the same desire for constructive reform and for helping the under-privileged—that is the man who has to run the hazards of unemployment and of sickness; the ‘forgotten man’ of Mr Roosevelt. Wilson’s policy was labelled the ‘New Freedom’; Mr Roosevelt’s was to be known as the ‘New Deal’.

This however was in the unknown future; meanwhile the young Assistant Secretary of the Navy threw himself enthusiastically into his work of trying to persuade a peace-loving nation to build a bigger Navy. As the war proceeded, so his arguments gained greater urgency; and when the United States declared war on Germany on 6 April 1917, the Navy was in a better condition to fight than it might have been with a less energetic Assistant Secretary. Already he was showing his readiness to take risks and responsibility when action was needed, and his skill in getting things done surprised many who still regarded him as a well-to-do, good-looking young man, who found politics an interesting diversion. He could use his charm of manner to good effect, but he could also show a dogged determination where he felt it necessary.

His own desire when war broke out was for active service, but he was doing useful work; in June 1918 he was sent on an inspection tour of naval bases, and before setting out he extracted a promise that on his return he would be granted a commission. His tour brought him to England and then took him across to France; he met most of the leaders of both countries



and so broadened his experience of men and affairs. During the voyage home he became seriously ill and had to be taken off the ship on a stretcher; the coming of the Armistice on 11 November 1918 finally robbed him of the chance of active service.

His recovery was followed by a pleasant journey to Europe to wind up certain naval business; he returned to America on the same ship as Woodrow Wilson, who had been experiencing the almost intoxicating welcome of peoples who regarded him as a deliverer. On the voyage he worked at the scheme for the League of Nations and discussed the problem with Mr Roosevelt. The desk at which the President worked on board ship is now in Mr Roosevelt's possession.

The story of how Wilson's hopes were broken when the subsequent Treaty incorporating the scheme for the League of Nations was rejected by his countrymen, cannot be told here. An American historian has summed up the situation in these words, 'The brief moment of opportunity passed when in March 1920 the Senate by its final vote for rejecting the Treaty and the League Covenant condemned the United States for years to come to a sterile isolationism. It was a deplorable shirking of responsibilities. The republic had fought the war primarily to bring about a better world order, and now, refusing a seat at the international council table, it gave up the main object for which it had spent so many lives and so much money.' At the time Lord Grey, who had been Britain's Foreign Minister in 1914, said, 'without the United States, the present League of Nations may become little better than a League of Allies for armed self-defence against a revival of Prussian militarism'—a prediction which has been only too terribly fulfilled.

Mr Roosevelt played a vigorous part in the campaign to win support for the League Covenant, but the forces of reaction were too strong, he was nominated for Vice-President in 1920 but with his Democratic colleagues he was overwhelmingly defeated, and for eight years he passed out of public life

Once it was clear that a Democrat stood little chance of election while the country was in its anti-Wilson mood, Mr Roosevelt turned to his own affairs. He had a growing family to provide for, and an additional income was desirable; he accepted the Vice-Presidency of an Insurance Company and also became a partner in a firm of lawyers. His public activities were concerned with a peace organization, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, and with the re-organization of the Boy Scout Movement in New York

Then fate struck him a hard blow. In the summer of 1921 he fell a victim to infantile paralysis. Most men would have despaired, but Mr Roosevelt was determined to overcome the new enemy. He had some notable allies in his wife and his mother and, from a public point of view most notable of all, a journalist named Louis Howe who had immense faith in the victim's political future. Stubbornly the disease was fought, and gradually Mr Roosevelt adapted himself to a manner of life which must have been almost maddening to a man of his active nature. the yachting and riding, the camping and climbing, had to be given up. *some gain in health*

There were some gains—perhaps history will say that they far outweighed the losses. In his enforced inactivity he had time to read and think; he had already a varied experience of men and affairs as the raw material of his

thoughts, but he was now able to study methods of government and political and economic ideas more thoroughly. This did not turn him into a man of theory or a scholar; his instinct was to translate thoughts into actions, and he had already learned the politician's first lesson—that facts are stubborn things and ideas must bend to the logic of events. *Σ 002441*

In 1924 new hope came with the discovery that his condition improved rapidly after treatment in a pool at Warm Springs, Georgia. The news of this spread, and other sufferers from infantile paralysis made the journey. As the accommodation was limited and almost primitive, Mr Roosevelt determined to develop the place—his instinct for 'doing something about it' once more found an outlet, and in a few years his Georgia Warm Springs Foundation (a non-profit-making concern) was on a sound footing and already of benefit to many sufferers.

This improvement in his physical condition gave him hope again. The Governor of New York State, Alfred E. Smith (Al Smith), a Democrat, was put forward in 1924 as a candidate for the Presidency, and he knew that Mr Roosevelt's support would be important. This was gladly given and, in spite of his physical handicap, Mr Roosevelt helped in the campaign. At the meeting of the Democrats called to decide on the candidate, he made such an effective speech that Al Smith was duly nominated, but the Republican tide was still flowing strongly and the Democratic candidate failed.

People began to realize that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a man to be reckoned with in the future, but he refused to do anything further until, he said, he could walk without crutches.

For four more years he steadily went on with his treatment and found that he was gaining more and more control over his legs ; then came another call to him. Once more Al Smith was running for the Presidency, and he felt that it would be a help if Mr Roosevelt succeeded him as Governor of New York State. It was not easy to persuade him to accept the candidature ; he felt that another year of his treatment might make all the difference, but Al Smith and other leading Democrats were persistent, and at length he gave way. Al Smith did not become President, but Franklin D. Roosevelt did become Governor of New York State on New Year's Day, 1929.

On that date the prosperity of the United States seemed as solid as the Rocky Mountains, and the new President, Herbert Hoover, entered upon his period of office with the conviction that nothing could prevent the country from becoming more and more prosperous. He rashly claimed that 'we in America are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land'. As an American historian has recorded, 'Stocks soared to dizzy heights, and every month hundreds of millions of dollars in new securities were <sup>invested</sup> <sup>in the</sup> mopped up by avid investors who hoped to share in the wonderful new game of making something out of nothing. Factories could not turn out automobiles, refrigerators, radios, vacuum-cleaners, and oil-burners fast enough to keep up with the insatiable demand for new gadgets ; rail-roads groaned with their burdens . . . while advertising rose from the level of a business to the higher levels of a science and an art.'

By contrast the economic difficulties of Great Britain seemed black indeed. There the number of unemployed rose weekly to an alarming degree, and the situation

became so serious that the leader of the Labour Government, Mr Ramsay MacDonald, left his own party to head a National Government. Still the United States seemed unaffected by the economic collapse which was coming to country after country.

Then in October 1929 the blow came. Without any warning, as the historian just quoted records, 'Banks failed, factories shut down, rail-roads went into receiverships, and millions of men—at one time twelve or fifteen millions—were thrown out of work. The human suffering of the period was appalling. Private charity and the local governments tried to relieve it, but the task was far too great.'

No one would claim that Mr Roosevelt foresaw the crash any more than Mr Hoover or any other leading statesman had done. The interesting aspect of the matter is how differently the two men regarded the new situation and what methods they proposed for restoring prosperity.

Mr Hoover was strongly against any large-scale action; in 1931, for instance, he vetoed a Bill which had passed Congress. Its purpose was to give the Federal Government at Washington power to undertake large projects which would give employment and do something to relieve distress. In explanation he said, 'I am firmly opposed to the Government entering into any business the major purpose of which is deliberate competition with our citizens.' The main concern of Mr Hoover's Administration seemed to be to hold on until 'Big Business' could get on to its feet again, then everything, they felt, would be all right again. There was no urgent concern with the plight of the working man and of the small farmer.

While Mr Hoover was hoping that prosperity was 'just round the corner', Mr Roosevelt was facing the problems of a State Governor under the same baffling conditions—so utterly unlike anything previously experienced in the United States. Looking back now we can see that he was revealing then the same qualities which later he was to show as head of the whole country. He soon showed that he was not to be overawed either by Big Business or by Big Labour; indeed no group, either political or economic, could claim him as its servant. His wide-embracing sympathy with the Common Citizen, the weekly wage-earner, the small shopkeeper and the landworker, was also demonstrated. There can be no doubt that his own experience of suffering and his triumph over seeming disaster had given him a deeper understanding of people and of affairs, and had taken him out of the usual rut of the party man.

The details of his governorship are in themselves not important; they are significant for revealing these larger qualities and tendencies. One example of his policy may be selected. The St Lawrence River forms the northern boundary of the State of New York with Canada, and for some years the proposal had been discussed of using it for the production of power which could be of great benefit to all. Mr Roosevelt took up the project and laid down certain principles which should be observed. First, the State itself, and no private company, must have full ownership and control. Second, this power must be made available as light or energy to as many people as possible and as cheaply as possible. The time came when he signed the Water Power Commission Bill. Mr Roosevelt had a warning to give 'Even greater vigilance', he said, 'will be required on

watchful

the part of the public to make sure that this progress is not halted by those who have so long successfully blocked all attempts to give back to the people the water-power which is theirs.'

This St Lawrence scheme presents the pattern of Mr Roosevelt's work. He lays down certain broad principles and explains these so that plain men and women can see what he is after; the working details must be left to the experts, but he remains watchful to see that the resulting scheme has been framed on those principles.

In this Governorship he was brought face to face on the smaller scale of one State with the problems of the depression which later he had to deal with on a nationwide scale. Unemployment and a decaying agriculture were urgent questions which could not be shirked, and some of his experiments in his own State helped him later in framing his New Deal.

One other aspect of this period is worth mentioning. Mr Roosevelt began to use broadcasting as a method of explaining to ordinary folk what he was trying to do. He developed an intimate style which made his 'fireside talks' an important element in shaping American policy.

In later years, some of his most important pronouncements have been heard all over the world, and his voice has become a welcome and familiar sound to listeners outside America; but these more official speeches, effective as they are, have not the same 'family' quality of the less formal talks. The general impression received is of a friendly man who wants us to understand him; at times he can be very outspoken against some injustice or against any group which seems more intent on its own advancement than on the common welfare;

he can show a very human enthusiasm for policies which appeal to him, and his sense of humour adds to the self-portrait he projects across the air. Here is the opening passage of one of his talks; this particular example comes from a much later period, 1941, but it shows how he can use homely illustrations to bring out important general principles *example*

‘I am sitting in the little cabin of the little ship *Potomac*, in the harbour of Fort Lauderdale, after a day of sunshine out in the Gulf Stream . . .

‘I try to get away a couple of times a year on these short trips on salt water. In Washington, as you know, the working day of the Presidency in these days averages about fifteen hours. Even when I go to Hyde Park or to Warm Springs, the White House office, the callers and the telephone all follow me. But at sea the radio messages and the occasional pouch of mail reduce official work to not more than two or three hours a day.

‘So there is a chance for a bit of sunshine or a wetted line, or a biography, or a detective story, or a nap after lunch. Above all, there is the opportunity for thinking things through—for differentiating between principles and methods, between the really big things of life and those other things of the moment which may seem all-important to-day and are forgotten by the world in a month. That means that if to-day the fellow next to you catches a bigger fish than you do, or *vice versa*, you don’t lie awake at night thinking about it.’

All this is not to say he has no enemies; far otherwise indeed, for few men have roused such frenzied hatred in his opponents, it is something beyond reason or explanation. The most common criticism is that he is reckless in expenditure; another is that his policy

*Carson*



has changed from time to time. The first seems pointless now that our ideas of what a State can spend are apparently boundless, and the second criticism means little more than that Mr Roosevelt has always been willing to learn from his experience and to experiment as needs and conditions change. A further criticism sometimes made is that he is too reluctant to dismiss high officials when they prove inefficient.

The deepening of the depression and the inability of the President to take effective counter-measures made the selection of a Democratic candidate for the 1933 election of unusual interest. Since Woodrow Wilson's Presidency, the White House had been occupied by a Republican, and people were therefore more disposed to turn towards a Democrat. In 1930, Mr Roosevelt was re-elected Governor of New York by 725,001 votes—the odd vote he laughingly declared to be his own. This proof of his popularity, quite apart from his ability and prestige, almost inevitably meant that he would be the Democratic candidate in the next Presidential election. Some supporters wondered if he could stand up to the severe physical strain which a Presidential campaign entails; he submitted himself to a thorough examination, after which the doctors declared him more than fit medically for both campaign and office, and the truth of their verdict has since been confirmed in fact. During four months he travelled nearly twenty thousand miles throughout the length and breadth of the States, and in November 1933 he was elected President.

He assumed office in the following March, three months after Adolf Hitler had become Imperial Chancellor of Germany.

Mr Roosevelt's inaugural address brought new hope to a bewildered people. He declared his intention of acting boldly in the interests of the whole people, not merely of one section, he asked for support in waging a war against the emergency 'as great as the power that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe'. This fighting spirit was a great contrast to his predecessor's policy of waiting for the tide to turn; it enheartened his listeners and the whole country. They were promised a New Deal; when its practical working out became evident, some were not so enthusiastic, but the majority were satisfied that at last they had a leader who was determined to find a way out of depression into prosperity.

What was, or rather, what is this New Deal? Before an attempt is made to survey its various aspects, it is well to be reminded that the United States has not had any body of legislation comparable with our social legislation for Old Age Pensions, Unemployment Insurance, and the like. Then too it should be kept in mind that the separate States have always been opposed to any great extension of the powers of the Federal Government at Washington. If we think of these States as English Counties, we shall fail to understand the American situation or to appreciate Mr Roosevelt's achievement in overcoming deep-rooted opposition to what is called interference from Washington.

This then was his first problem—how to persuade the States, as represented in Congress, to accept Federal legislation on a scale hitherto regarded as an infringement of State independence. He was helped by the very seriousness of the situation. There was no sign of that recovery which had followed previous periods of

depression The nation had been cast down from the peak of prosperity into an abyss. It was in the mood—well reflected in Congress—to try anything which offered a gleam of hope. Mr Roosevelt was not slow in seizing his opportunity, and the energy he put into the task was itself inspiring and a factor in the gradual recovery. Once the tide had turned, some men, especially leaders of Big Business, forgot their former fears and became critical; opposition showed itself, but the nation as a whole was prepared to continue its support of its enterprising President.

The main measures taken must be briefly noted rather than described. All kinds of public works were started to give employment; these included roads, bridges, and housing. A Civilian Conservation Corps gave employment to three million young men in various projects for conserving the natural resources of the country. Loans were made available for agriculture and business and transport. A novel feature was the help given to artists, musicians, and writers by the organization of theatrical and concert parties to tour districts where such entertainments were almost, or entirely, unknown; mural paintings for public buildings opened up a new field of activity for artists and at the same time added to the development of taste.

A good example of a public works scheme is that usually referred to as the T.V.A—a plan for helping a distressed area under the Tennessee Valley Authority. The area, roughly as large as England, is the basin of the Tennessee River. Electrical power and lighting has been made available at low cost to industry and farming; the scheme has resulted in the reclamation of land

which was rapidly becoming derelict and poverty-stricken

Various schemes were also put before Congress for regulating wages, for pensions for the aged, for unemployment insurance, and for public health. But here difficulties developed as the opponents to the New Deal recovered their courage. One method they used was to appeal to the Supreme Court. This body consists of nine judges whose duty it is to interpret the Constitution of the United States and to decide whether State or Federal laws are reasonable. The Court decided that a number of the New Deal proposals were unconstitutional. Mr Roosevelt did not hesitate to attack the Court as lacking the ability to adapt itself to changing needs. To many people this seemed almost sacrilegious, and his popularity suffered temporarily. Fortunately death removed some of the more aged members and the President was able to appoint younger men who were more alive to the urgency of the problems of the day.

All this legislation was not of course worked out in detail by Mr Roosevelt. He got together a number of expert advisers who were nicknamed the Brains Trust—a name which has now become part of our common speech. Some have claimed that these men practically ‘ran’ the President, devising his policies and writing his speeches. They certainly supplied many of the details for working out his general ideas, but anyone who has listened to, or read, several of his speeches over a period of years, recognizes at once a personal style which cannot be supplied by a changing body of advisers. There is a distinctive Roosevelt manner just as there is a Churchill manner, both are unmistakable. Secretaries and experts may supply

raw material they are asked to collect, but the final shape which this takes can only be the work of the speaker.

Part of Mr Roosevelt's success has been due to his personality—he communicated his own confident spirit to the nation at a time when few looked to the future with any cheerfulness; his insistence on big principles expressed in language all could understand gave people the feeling that they were no longer adrift but had a chart by which to sail, his friendliness and good-fellowship appealed to ordinary folk, and his willingness to explain what he was after increased the trust felt in his policy. Mention has already been made of his use of broadcasting, but there is another medium he finds of help—the Press Conference. Once a week he meets newspaper reporters for a talk over affairs. Sometimes—especially when the situation is grave—he makes ~~a statement on the position~~ <sup>an announcement</sup> on the position; but usually he good-naturedly submits to questions. Some he decides cannot be answered for public reasons, but he is generally quite ready to answer at once and as fully as possible. Occasionally he will tell them something in confidence, 'off the record', and this trust has never yet been abused. These meetings are very informal and are <sup>enlivened</sup> ~~enlivened~~ with good stories and jokes in which the President delights.

No one was surprised, in view of this success, that Mr Roosevelt ran for a second term as President in 1936. Some critics declared that he was losing his popularity, but the overwhelming support he got showed, as one reporter said, that he 'was unpopular with everyone except the electors'.

His first term of office had of necessity been mainly devoted to American affairs, and the people were far

too worried about their own domestic problems to think very much about world affairs. They had in fact got out of the habit of looking far beyond their own frontiers since the decision to keep clear of international entanglements after the first World War

Mr Roosevelt's own belief in the principles of Woodrow Wilson has made him a student of foreign affairs, and his wide travels and his personal knowledge of the leaders in many countries provide him with an excellent background against which to judge the world situation. He was well aware of the American desire to avoid foreign commitments, but he was less hopeful of this being possible with the development of the full Nazi policy in Germany and abroad—especially since the United States had one million and a half people of German origin.

At his first inaugural speech as President, Mr Roosevelt made a declaration on foreign affairs which was more than a pious sentiment

‘In the field of world policy,’ he said, ‘I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbour—the neighbour who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbour who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements, in and with a world of neighbours’

This declaration was especially well received by the South American countries, and later the sentiment was translated into fact by the Montevideo Conference of December 1933 when the American countries met together and drew up a series of propositions governing the relations between them. Other Pan-American meetings were to follow with the result that in 1936

Mr Roosevelt could declare that 'the twenty-one American Republics are not only living together in friendship and in peace; they are united in the determination so to remain'.

This may seem remote from European affairs, but the value of understandings has been proved in this war, when the American States have held together although not all of them have taken up arms against Germany.

Mr Roosevelt was sure of general support for his Pan-American policy, but in the wider field he had to face a strong desire to keep the United States out of any war caused by European quarrels. This isolationism—as it was called—must not be regarded as a purely selfish desire for personal safety (a feeling exhibited by all peoples); it seemed to many men of good judgement the right policy to follow.

There can be no question but that Mr Roosevelt had a clearer idea of the dangers lying ahead and how difficult, indeed how impossible, it is for one great power to isolate itself when others are at loggerheads, and as the true character and purpose of the Hitler government revealed itself, so he became more and more troubled. Yet for some years he had to permit legislation designed to tie down him and his successors to a policy of isolation.

So strongly did the nation feel in this matter that no fewer than fifteen neutrality bills were introduced in Congress, but agreement could not be reached on any one of them. Finally a new Bill was threshed out and passed by Congress. Mr Roosevelt signed the Bill with reluctance, but he knew that public opinion was against him. He warned the nation however that the measure might 'drag us into war instead of keeping us

out'. This Law forbad the export of munitions of war to any belligerent nation. No American ship could carry such munitions and American citizens were to be warned against travelling in ships of nations at war. It will be noticed that no distinction is allowed between the just and the unjust, all nations at war were to be regarded as equally at fault. Moreover the President was robbed of some of his influence with such a country as Germany, for Hitler knew how Mr Roosevelt's hands were tied by the neutrality legislation.

The Italian attack on Abyssinia in 1935, the Civil War in Spain in 1936, and the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 all showed how hampered the United States was in its attempts to support international justice. Yet Congress in May 1937 not only passed the Neutrality Act again but strengthened it by including a 'cash and carry' rule which meant that such materials as cotton, scrap-iron and oil (which were not themselves munitions but raw materials) could only be sold if the country concerned fetched the goods and paid the bill on the spot.

Mr Roosevelt could only voice his fears and utter his warnings in the face of such a determined public opinion. On the principle of 'softlee, softlee, catchee monkey' he set out to educate that opinion; his fear was that facts might prove a ruder schoolmaster and find the nation unprepared materially and spiritually. From time to time he spoke as plainly as possible. Here, for instance, is an extract from a speech which made a great stir at the time; the isolationists accused him of stirring up trouble; but some took his words to heart. This speech was made in October 1937 and is referred to as the 'quarantine speech'.



‘ It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading.

‘ When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease. . . .

‘ No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong and retain the confidence and respect of other nations. No nation ever loses its dignity or its good standing by conciliating its differences, and by exercising great patience with, and consideration for, the rights of other nations.

‘ War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples remote from the original scene of hostilities. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement, but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.’

The clash between Japan and China and the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations revealed the weakness of the policy of isolation. We can never know how far a League of Nations which included the United States would have proved more effective in checking Japanese aggression. Some think that it would have made no difference ; we cannot know for certain. What we do know is that Japan felt quite safe in ignoring the protests of the United States since it knew that the President was hog-tied by the neutrality legislation and could not act, whatever he might say or threaten.

Mr Roosevelt found the task of educating the American people as difficult as Mr Churchill found a similar task towards the British. In August 1938, the President of the United States visited Canada and in the course of a speech he said :

‘We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigour of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose it or not.

‘Happily, you and we, in friendship and in entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities, resolving to leave no pathway unexplored, no technique undeveloped which may, if our hopes are realized, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if those hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish unimpaired.

‘The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire.’

He strongly supported the policy of making trade agreements with nations and he especially welcomed those made with the South American States, it all helped to consolidate the American position. Friendship was further demonstrated when King George VI and Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Washington. Another

line of advance was in developing the defences of the country; considerable increases were granted for the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force. In the Army accounts was included a large sum to equip the National Guardsmen (the Territorials of the U.S.A.). -

The outbreak of war in September 1939 was so obviously due to sheer brigandage that Congress was willing to relax the Neutrality Legislation and to vote the money needed to speed up the supply of ships and guns and aeroplanes. American opinion was on the whole on the side of Britain and France, though some journalists talked about the 'phoney' war of the winter of 1939-40. They were soon to witness ruthless war on an undreamed-of scale, and the sweeping forward of the Nazi hordes in May and June of 1940 gave a powerful impetus to public opinion. 517

Mr Roosevelt made no scruple about revealing where his own sympathies lay. In order to strengthen his Cabinet he included in it two outstanding Republicans, one as Secretary of the Navy and the other as Secretary of the Army, and he also sent a note to Germany and Italy warning them to keep their hands off any possessions in the American sphere of interest belonging to Britain, France, or the Netherlands. This was followed by the setting up of the U.S.-Canadian Joint Defence Board for the United States and Canada. Then in September came the news that Great Britain was to receive fifty destroyers in exchange for the lease of naval bases in the neighbourhood of America.

He took the risk of acting ahead of public opinion in spite of the fact that he was breaking all tradition by standing for a third term of office. No one of his predecessors had ever done such a thing and it was

believed that Washington himself had laid it down, that no man should be President for more than two terms. Mr Roosevelt's Republican opponent was Mr Wendell Wilkie, who declared that he supported the Government's foreign policy, especially 'all aid to Britain short of war'. Mr Roosevelt was again returned and he was not slow to warn the people that the danger was more serious than they realized. Speaking on 29 December 1940, he said :

'Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack anywhere in the Americas while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbour in the Atlantic? Does anyone seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbours there?

'If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us, in all the Americas, would be living at the point of a gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.'

A few days later he again stressed the nature of the struggle—as one of ideas and principles, and he spoke of the 'four essential human freedoms'.

'In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

'The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

'The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

. 'The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

'The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour—anywhere in the world.'

Then in March 1941 came the well-known Lease-Lend Act which gave the Government power to make or procure 'any defence article' for itself or for Britain, and the terms were sufficiently elastic to cover the repair of British ships in American yards and the pooling of inventions and ideas. Later the scheme was extended to 'any country whose defence the President deems vital to the defence of the United States'. More and more the two countries, Britain and the U.S.A., were acting together and 'all aid short of war' was stretched very far.

On 14 August 1941 the world heard the astonishing news that Mr Roosevelt and Mr Churchill had met somewhere in the North Atlantic. Since then far greater journeys and even more momentous meetings have been held, but the boldness of that first meeting was typical of the two leaders, for it was without parallel. The immediate outcome of that meeting was the agreement on general principles usually known as the Atlantic Charter.

A few months passed and the war came suddenly to the United States itself. The Japanese action in attacking Pearl Harbour was described by Mr Roosevelt

in these words addressed to a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives :

‘Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

‘The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking towards the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleagues delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

‘It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.’

On 11 December he sent a message to Congress to state that Germany and Italy had declared war on the United States. At last the issue was joined ; no one would have been happier than Mr Roosevelt if his fears and warnings had proved baseless , it is indeed fortunate for the United States that at such a crisis she has a leader of foresight and energy who dares to make decisions and accept responsibilities.

The spirit with which he leads his country is well expressed in the concluding words of a broadcast address

he made in celebration of George Washington's birthday on 23 February 1942.

'The task that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost.

'Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

' "These are the times that try men's souls."

'Tom Paine wrote those words on a drumhead by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

'And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces :

' "The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of their country ; he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered ; yet we have this consolation with us : That the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph "

' So spoke the Americans in the year 1776.

' So speak the Americans to-day ! '

## JOSEPH STALIN

It is fortunate that some of the Russian Revolutionary leaders adopted, or were given, special names. Thus it is easier for us to say 'Lenin' than to talk of Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov; and 'Stalin' is simpler for us than Yossif Vissarionovich Djugashvili! The word 'stalin' means 'steel'—so Stalingrad means Steel-town as well as Stalin's town, so named in his honour. He was given the name by his comrades who recognized in him some of the qualities of steel. As we read the story of his life, we shall find that they were not mistaken.

Yossif Vissarionovich Djugashvili—to give him for the last time in these pages his name by birth—was a native of Georgia. The map will show you that this part of Russia lies over a thousand miles south-east of Moscow beyond the Caucasus. It is important to remember this fact about Stalin's birth. The Georgians are as much a separate people as the Welsh; they have their own language and literature, and are further removed from any direct European influence than the Russians to the west of Moscow.

At that time Russia was one empire under a Czar with autocratic power. The territory he governed, however, was so vast in extent, and included so many different peoples speaking different dialects, that there was a considerable amount of local government. A whole army of officials was employed, but their duties and powers were seldom clearly defined and most were too



far from the central authority to be properly controlled or directed. It can easily be imagined, therefore, that there was much corruption and petty tyranny.

Stalin was born on 21 December 1879 in a small town called Gori, which lies on the railway running from the Black Sea through Tiflis to the Caspian Sea. During his boyhood that part of Russia was being developed; the mining and oil industries were proving sources of wealth to those who had the money, or could raise the capital, to begin these new industries. There, as in England at the beginning of our Industrial Revolution, little care was taken to provide decent conditions of labour for the peasants and others who were attracted to the factories and mines and oil wells. Here was one important factor in the early life of Stalin—he saw the ugly side of industry and hated it.

His father was a cobbler who became a worker in a shoe factory; he earned very little, and of that a large proportion went in drink; it was not therefore a happy home in which Stalin grew up, and this too left its mark upon him. His mother was passionately devoted to him, for he was the only child to survive of the several born to her. Poor as she was, she made up her mind that he should get the best schooling she could manage, and become, she earnestly hoped, a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Stalin's first school was in the town of Gori; it was conducted by the Church. Some of his former school-fellows remember incidents of his life there, but the stories are coloured by after-events and must be read with caution. It does seem certain, though, that Stalin quickly took to his books; indeed he was reading serious works at an unusually early age.

In 1894 he left school for the theological seminary or college at Tiflis, where he was to be trained as a priest. It was a hard task for his mother to find the money for his fees ; her husband had died in 1890, and she had to earn a living as a washer-woman to keep the home going.

We know more about the Tiflis seminary because the records still exist. One thing stands out ; time and time again Stalin was punished for reading forbidden books which, in spite of the rules, he borrowed from a local lending library. Most of the titles seem innocent enough now, but the novels, for instance, of Victor Hugo were then regarded as dangerously advanced in their ideas. Several times Stalin was ' confined to the punishment cell ' for reading these books ; once he was found reading aloud to the other students ; this seems to have alarmed the authorities for ' the students were searched '. The authorities would have been still more seriously worried if they had known of some of the books Stalin was then reading and discussing with his companions. There were amongst them *The Communist Manifesto* and other works by Marx and Engels, as well as books on economics and history. The last subject particularly interested Stalin and he had a very considerable knowledge of the great French Revolution of 1789 and of the Paris Commune of 1871.

Soon Stalin was forming groups for discussions amongst the students and also outside amongst the workers of Tiflis. The teaching of Marx had captured him, and it was not long before he came across the writings of a fellow countryman who was in exile—his name was Lenin ; at once Stalin recognized the power

of Lenin's ideas, and from that date he was Lenin's disciple, as he still claims to be.

What was this Marxism to which Stalin and his comrades were to devote their lives? Two Germans, Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), both living in England, developed certain ideas which have had a very great influence on men's thoughts and actions. These two men saw history as a conflict between classes, and they believed that the cause lay in a constant struggle for economic power. The truth of this would be illustrated for Stalin when he saw the way in which the owners of the mines and oil wells of the Caucasus controlled the lives of the workers. Marx and Engels argued that the only way in which the workers—the proletariat—could secure for themselves a decent standard of living was by seizing the mines and oil fields and all other 'means of production' and then using them for the common good and not merely for the benefit of a few privileged owners. This is only a bare outline of the chief idea which fired men like Stalin and Lenin with a revolutionary enthusiasm, but even in this simplified form it is easy to see how it could be a powerful means of rousing underpaid and underfed workmen against their employers.

But Marxism—or Communism, for the two were for practical purposes the same—went further. It condemned the ruling class, including the King or Czar and the nobility, together with the Church, as partners with the owners of wealth and property in the conspiracy to keep the workers on the verge of starvation so that they would remain docile and work for as little as possible. Religion, for instance, was described as the opium of the people—it helped to keep them satisfied

with their miserable conditions. The Marxist also held in contempt the 'bourgeoisie', or middle-class, for fawning upon the rich and despising the workers.

This was clearly a revolutionary doctrine—its followers welcomed the prospect of a violent upheaval and worked and plotted towards that end. But with Lenin as the brain behind the movement, it became something more than just a bid for power by the underdog; it had all the force of a faith to which men were willing to devote everything, even their lives.

In 1899 the seminary authorities decided to expel Stalin for being 'politically unreliable'; many years later—in 1931—he had to fill in a questionnaire, and against the word 'Education' he wrote, 'Turned out of a theological seminary for propagating Marxism'. He had at least received as good an education as was available outside a university; he had learned to use books as a source of information and of ideas, but he seems to have had no pleasure in them as literature. When he left the seminary, it was to spread amongst the workers of Tiflis the ideas he had developed in reading and in discussions. He was already well known amongst the railwaymen, and had joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. His expulsion from the seminary meant that from that time onwards he was being watched by the police. Any suspected revolutionary (a very wide term) was liable to be arrested, put in prison, and then exiled to Siberia, or, if he was considered dangerous, sent to the salt-mines.

This police system seems inseparable from Russia. Much as, with good cause, all the revolutionists hated the Czarist police, they found it necessary when they gained power to create a similar force with even more

ruthless powers of investigation, search, arrest, and secret trial followed by exile—or disappearance.

For some months after leaving the seminary, Stalin had a job in the Tiflis Observatory as an observer; this meant using delicate instruments and making accurate records. But his revolutionary ardour was too powerful for him to remain long in any occupation which would hinder his propaganda; he preferred to be a hunted man, and go on spreading the teachings of Marx and Lenin rather than live a life of security under a system he hated.

A companion of those days has given us a picture of Stalin as the propagandist. 'His talks at once riveted the attention of the workers. Stalin would quote from fiction and scientific works; he was always citing examples. When addressing us, he had a notebook before him or just a sheet of paper covered with fine writing. It was obvious that he carefully prepared for every talk. We usually met in the evenings at dusk, and on Sundays would go out into the country in groups of five to ten and would carry on our discussions without regard to time. . . . Comrade Stalin was our teacher, but he would often say that he himself learnt from the workers'

Labour unrest was rapidly growing at this period. A series of strikes broke out in Tiflis, chiefly amongst the railway and transport workers; one of the organizers was Kalinin, later to be President of the U.S.S.R., who had been exiled for his revolutionary activities from St Petersburg to the Caucasus. Stalin was soon in the thick of work.

The first May Day labour celebrations were held in Tiflis in 1899; at the celebrations the following year,

Stalin addressed a gathering of some five hundred workers—at that time an exceptionally large number. Lenin's paper *Iskra*, which Stalin read and absorbed so thoroughly, greeted this meeting as the beginning of a new era in working class history.

These events had quickened the activities of the police. On 21 March 1901 they made a sudden search of Stalin's room at the Observatory; he was away at the time. His companion has left this report. 'They turned everything upside down, poked into every corner, shook out the bedding, but found nothing. Comrade Stalin would always return a book after reading it and never kept it at home. As to illegal pamphlets, we used to keep them concealed under a brick pile on the banks of the river.'

Already Stalin, still only 22 years old, had learned that cautiousness which became a characteristic. If direct action was needed, no one was bolder than he, but he never clashed recklessly with the authorities; his patience, as many were to learn in later years, was considerable, he learned the hardest of all lessons for a revolutionary—how to wait for the right moment.

This search by the police sent Stalin into hiding. He was elected a member of the Committee of the Tiflis Social Democratic Party, and it was decided that he should go to Batum to form a branch of the Party there.

Stalin was soon at work. Early in 1902 a series of strikes broke out under his direction, and at a big demonstration in March he was amongst those who were fired upon. He arranged a funeral for the fifteen men killed and took the occasion to drive home the significance of their deaths. He was also busy with a

secret printing press which he used for issuing leaflets and pamphlets—the output of pamphlets by the Russian revolutionists was enormous; one can get an idea of their industry by glancing at the volumes of Lenin's works and of Stalin's.

After a year's work in Batum, Stalin at last fell into the hands of the police. He was arrested at a meeting on 5 April 1902. It was not until 9 July of the following year that sentence was pronounced. During those fifteen months he had been imprisoned, first in Batum and then in Kutais; he had not wasted his time, for under the easy conditions of prison life he did some useful propaganda amongst the prisoners and also kept his pen busy producing newspaper articles and leaflets.

He was sentenced to three years exile in Siberia. In these days when an aeroplane can so easily get to the remotest spot, such an exile would be useless as a means of keeping a man out of the way; but at the beginning of this century to be sent to Siberia meant a complete severance from friends. The exile itself was not cruel, though in serious cases it was made so. As yet, however, Stalin was a 'first offender'. He was not long in exile, for he escaped in the spring of 1904, and after a brief visit to Batum made his way to Tiflis.

During his imprisonment and exile, a most important event had taken place within the ranks of the Social Democratic Labour Party—though probably no one, with the possible exception of Lenin, realized its significance. There had been a split in the ranks; some wanted an extreme revolutionary policy; others were in favour of trying to win concessions from the Government and so gradually achieving their aims. As they no

longer found it possible to work together, they separated. In the Russian language the first group was called the Bolsheviks (meaning the majority), and the second the Mensheviks (or minority). The time was to come when throughout the world the name of Bolshevik was to mean much more than just 'majority'. In actual fact that group was never a majority.

When Stalin resumed his underground work, he at once sided with Lenin and the Bolsheviks for his whole nature was against compromise. Stalin's enemies—and few men have had more—say that at this period he was not really as active as his later admirers make out. But the records are sufficiently clear to show that he was a leading organizer of revolution in the region beyond the Caucasus. Soon he was going farther afield as his abilities became more widely recognized by such exiled leaders as Lenin.

Baku—the great oil centre on the Caspian Sea—was the scene of a strike at the end of 1904, the workers won some concessions. Stalin found a good field for his propaganda there, and in a newspaper he produced for the workers he taught them the ideas of Marx and Lenin.

The strike at Baku was but one incident in a whole series of uprisings at that period in the industrial centres of Russia. The disastrous and humiliating war with Japan in 1904-5 revealed the incompetence with which public affairs were managed. The most notable event was the procession of strikers in St Petersburg (as Leningrad was then called) in which the leader was a priest, Father Gapon. Hundreds were killed by the soldiers when ordered to fire upon the people. The situation proved more serious than it was at first thought



by the Czar and his advisers. In order to allay opposition, the Czar promised a small measure of self-government. The Duma, a representative body elected by a very small number of electors, met in May 1906, but was dissolved two months later. It came together again in the following year for another brief session.

Stalin and his fellow agitators would have nothing to do with the Duma; they saw that it was little better than a sham; the electors were the more successful members of the middle-class, the bourgeoisie, who had no sympathy with the needs of the working-class, the proletariat. Lenin and Stalin also noted that the so-called Russian Revolution, as the series of strikes and police-clashes was called, failed because there was a lack of unity of action, and the peasants, the bulk of the Russian working-class, were not affected. The need therefore was for more and more propaganda and for teaching the workers, by speech and pamphlet and newspaper, how they should aim at nothing less than a workers' revolution—for the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.

We may at times get rather tired of such words as 'bourgeoisie' and 'proletariat', but it should be remembered that the Bolsheviki had to win the support of men and women of no education, and for that purpose a few well-known terms and phrases were more effective than long explanations. Argument (and the Russians love arguing) was also part of the training; we saw earlier how little groups would go out into the countryside on a holiday and spend the day in discussions.

This period of strikes resulted in a stiffening of the attitude of the Government to political agitators. From

Trans-Caucasia, for instance, in 1907 over 35,000 persons were deported for political reasons.

Stalin carried on with his work of rousing the workers. Amongst those who were his helpers at this period were several whose names were to become famous ; amongst them was a young man, Kliment Voroshilov, who was to make his name as the commander of the Red Army.

Stalin's success as an agitator was making him better known in the world of Russian Revolutionaries ; Trans-Caucasia was rather out of the way even for Russia, and a man whose usefulness depended on being inconspicuous, could work for years in such an area without being known to the leaders. In December 1905 he went to Tammerfors in Finland as a representative to the first All-Russian Bolshevik Conference. This was his first journey beyond Russia, for although Finland was under Russian control, it had a measure of freedom. It was at this Conference that Stalin and Lenin first met. As we have seen, Stalin had very early in his revolutionary career taken Lenin as his guide, it was therefore a great event when the two first met. This is what Stalin said of his feelings : ' I was hoping to see the mountain eagle of our Party, the great man, great not only politically, but, if you will, physically, because in my imagination I pictured Lenin as a giant, stately and imposing. What, then, was my disappointment to see a most ordinary-looking man, below average height, in no way, literally in no way, distinguishable from ordinary mortals.'

Later Stalin was to attend other Conferences, but he did not, like many of the leading revolutionaries, ever live abroad for any length of time ; he remained in the

thick of the struggle except for the periods when he was in prison or in exile. There has at times been a certain amount of bitterness between those Bolsheviks who stayed on in Russia and those who lived abroad; but this feeling did not arise between Stalin and Lenin, because Stalin recognized the great services Lenin was rendering the Party by his writings and researches; these could not have been carried on in Russia.

In 1906, Stalin was in Stockholm for a Party Congress, and in the following year he came to London for the Fifth Congress; it was a landmark in the history of the Party, for it was then that the Bolsheviks finally gained their way in the matter of policy, and insisted on the emphasis being put on revolutionary, and not on evolutionary, methods.

On his return from London, Stalin once more went to Baku. It was a stormy period; he himself said of that time, 'I received my second revolutionary baptism of fire'. The strike was used as the only weapon the workers could still employ; but the Government was determined to crush any opposition. This constant oppression had its effect on the workers; they began to lose hope; it seemed an endless task they had undertaken; how could they stand against the powers of the police backed by the rifles of the soldiers? It was a bitter period.

Stalin's history from 1907 until the 1917 Revolution was one of exile, imprisonment, escape, and exile.

He was arrested in March 1908, but in June of the following year escaped from exile and once more set to work in Baku. In the March of 1910 he was again arrested and exiled after six months in prison. Once more he escaped; this time he went to St Petersburg

as he was too well known in Trans-Caucasia; but he was arrested after a brief period, yet again he escaped and in February 1912 returned to St Petersburg. During this period of liberty he had much to do with the founding and running of the newspaper *Pravda*—a name which is now known to all of us; amongst the young men who worked on the paper was one named Molotov.

Towards the end of 1912 Stalin went to Cracow to meet Lenin who was then living in that city. As a result of this visit, Stalin set down, at Lenin's suggestion, his ideas on the treatment of nationalists. As a Georgian who had been forbidden the use of his own language, he had some well-defined views on the subject, and these he proceeded to expound in *Marxism and the National Question*. The subsequent handling of this difficult problem by the Bolsheviks was along the lines laid down by Stalin; and on the whole the policy has proved successful, and certainly far in advance of that followed by the Czarist Governments. No attempt is made to suppress local dialects or customs; indeed these are encouraged. Events have shown that this has not resulted in splitting up the country into independent groups, but in strengthening the feeling that, in spite of local differences, all are Russians.

On 23 February 1913 Stalin was arrested and exiled to a remote village near the Arctic Circle for four years. Here he spent much of his time out of doors in hunting and fishing, indoors he continued to study Marxism, to write letters and articles; some of these, including letters to Lenin, it was possible to get to their destinations.

The outbreak of war in 1914 did not alter Stalin's situation. News travelled very slowly, and it was some time before, for instance, information of Lenin's opposition to the war became known to the little group of exiles. In 1916 the Government decided to conscript political exiles for military service; apparently they thought it too great a risk to bring Stalin into the army, for he was kept in his remote Siberian village.

The year 1917 was critical for Russia. Incompetence in administration, the failure of supplies, and bad leadership had brought the army to disaster although the soldiers fought with great courage. There were food riots, and strikes and demonstrations against the Government in St Petersburg; at the end of February, the soldiers refused to obey the order to fire upon the demonstrators. This was the beginning of the end for Czardom. When the news reached Stalin he knew at once that it was the signal to set off; he reached St Petersburg in the middle of March and plunged into the work of making the revolution successful. His articles in *Pravda* showed no mercy to those who would compromise the workers; for him there could be only one solution—a workers' government.

In April 1917, Lenin arrived in Russia and Stalin was amongst those who met him at the Finland Railway Station in St Petersburg; this was a great demonstration of enthusiasm for the leader and for the cause. But the victory was not yet won.

It must be remembered that the Revolution was not actually started by Lenin, nor by the Bolsheviks. The March riots in St Petersburg were chiefly caused by lack of bread; but they were the signal for other risings. The soldiers at the front, who are always sensitive to the

needs of their families at home, became mutinous; they lacked ammunition and essential equipment, and the general organization was rotten. It was amongst these soldiers that the first Soviets were formed; these were councils of soldiers elected by the rank and file to look after the interests of all. Soon the factories also formed their Soviets. Later Lenin was quick to see the importance of these Soviets, and he encouraged the extension of the idea to the general government of the country

We have seen that both Lenin and Stalin were away from St Petersburg when the trouble began, so too was another important figure—Trotsky. In those early years the rest of the outside world heard much of Trotsky and Lenin, but not of Stalin. The other two had of course been out of Russia for some years, Lenin, for instance, was for some years in London. Trotsky had indeed not been a Bolshevik, but had opposed Lenin. His ability, which was considerable, and his great powers as an orator and leader, soon brought him to the front.

As we get closer to the Revolution itself, so we meet with some difficulty in describing the part played by Stalin. His almost dictatorial position in Russia since 1926, and his own strongly marked personality, have meant that his enemies have cried down all he did, and have attempted to make out that his share in affairs was a minor one. On the other hand his admirers, and they must be counted by millions, will not admit that there are any spots on the sun, and they try to suppress the part played by such men as Trotsky in the early days of the new Russian state

For a short period after his first return to St Petersburg, Lenin had had to go into hiding as the moderates were

in power under a lawyer named Kerensky. Stalin remained to keep watch on affairs. There was a division of opinion amongst the Bolsheviks as to how they should act. Some, amongst whom was Trotsky, were willing to go some way towards meeting the moderates. Lenin was firmly opposed to this, and events showed that his reading of the situation was right. Kerensky's government was unable to satisfy the demands of an angry people crying aloud for bread and peace. Lenin waited; the Soviets in the army and in the factories were steadily gaining confidence and influence. The peasants wanted to get rid of landlords and to possess the land they had tilled as serfs.

In October 1917 Lenin gave the signal, and within a short period Kerensky and his government were in flight, and Lenin and the Bolsheviks with the support of the Soviets had taken control.

The situation was far from encouraging. Russia was still at war with Germany; the former Russian aristocracy and landowners were not going to accept dispossession without putting up a fight. Lenin had a genius for grasping essentials and for pushing on one side unimportant things; he saw that most urgent of all was peace; no government could build up the country while at war with a ruthless enemy such as Germany. But peace had to be gained on Germany's terms. The Allies, Britain and France, were disturbed and dismayed at the idea of Russia withdrawing from the war; German divisions would at once be freed for use on the Western front. But Lenin was determined. In February 1918 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed between Russia and Germany; the terms were humiliating and harsh and showed the world how Germany would deal with

any nation she conquered; by comparison her own treatment by the Treaty of Versailles was kindly.

Of the Treaty Lenin wrote, 'Intolerably severe are the terms of peace. . . . Let us set to work to organize, organize and organize. Despite all trials, the future is ours.'

A further danger arose soon after the peace; military expeditions were sent by Britain and France to march on Moscow from the north and east; they were supporting the attempts of leaders of the Czarist forces such as Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel. This support was withdrawn as the ordinary people of Britain and France refused to <sup>support</sup> ~~back up~~ such ventures. But harm had been done, and the Bolshevik government felt that all the world was in arms against it, for Japan too was taking advantage of the situation to occupy Vladivostok. The Russians rose in support of Lenin and Trotsky against all invaders and counter-revolutionaries; in present-day books written in Russia there are not many references to Trotsky's part; Stalin's share in defeating the ring of enemies is magnified a hundred times. It is difficult to get at the truth, and the legend has already got such a grip that it may never be loosened. Perhaps the following is as fair an account as any. Trotsky, whatever his merits as a <sup>scientist</sup> ~~strategist~~, undoubtedly by his marvellous oratory roused the people and especially the soldiers of the newly formed Red, or Revolutionary, Army to <sup>defy</sup> ~~defy~~ the world in arms. His part was indispensable at that critical moment in Russia's history. Unfortunately all this went to his head, and his colossal vanity led him to believe that he was *the* one man who mattered. The success of the army was amazing considering that everything had to be improvised—



equipment was lacking, and, even more serious, experienced officers were lacking; Trotsky himself had no practical experience as a soldier.

What of Stalin? During this time he had a most important job, as important from some points of view as waging war on behalf of the Revolution. He was appointed Director-General of Food Supplies. The towns were without food; the peasants were unwilling to part with it; starvation was threatened. Stalin went south and soon had supplies moving to Moscow and St. Petersburg and other centres as well as to the army. It is said that when he got to Tsaritsyn (now world-famous as Stalingrad) he found army matters in such a bad state that he took charge and, in defiance of Trotsky, got things put right. In fact he saved the situation. Once more, it has to be admitted, it is difficult to know what the true facts were; but, this can be added now, Stalin has certainly shown a remarkable grasp of the needs of a military situation, and it may well be that his experience at Tsaritsyn in 1918 was not unconnected with events at Stalingrad in 1942. For his services he was awarded in 1919, at Lenin's suggestion, the Order of the Red Banner.

Why is it that Stalin's name did not become more generally known outside Russia until after Lenin's death? One reason may be that his old habit as a revolutionary of keeping out of the limelight, had become fixed; there are signs that even now this persists with him. But the chief reason is that, first and last, he was Lenin's disciple, a position which Trotsky never accepted fully. Stalin learned much from Lenin, not the least important lesson being that theory must give way to facts when necessary, for although Lenin was a man

who loved to work out an argument logically to its bitter end, he kept both feet on the ground. Things must work! This principle Stalin has followed ever since. Not that either man has ever swerved one inch from his ultimate objective, the well-being of the Russian people; therein Stalin differs from dictators like Hitler and Mussolini; they worked, not for the common people, but for a well-to-do class and for themselves; that at least can never be charged against the great Russian leaders.

Lenin sketched the main lines of the policy which Stalin has followed, though as has been just stated, neither leader hesitated when necessary to modify or alter details. (That policy was to make Russia an industrial nation as quickly as possible so that she could be independent of the 'imperialist' powers, new industries should be set up farther east near the Urals as a safeguard against invaders; electrical power must be made available throughout the land; the land must be made to produce as much food as possible to feed the industrial workers as well as the peasants.) To those main ideas Stalin has been faithful, and he also built up an army of formidable strength. Looking back now we can see how wise these two men were; sooner or later they felt that Russia would be attacked by one or other of the 'imperialist' nations—probably Germany. So they took far-sighted measures which have proved the salvation of their country.

In 1921 Stalin was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party, at that time, with Lenin alive, such a position did not seem to carry with it any exceptional authority. That it became the most powerful position

in Russia was due to the peculiar position of the Communist Party and also to Stalin's own qualities.

One of Lenin's ideas was to build up a political party of men and women who would be utterly devoted to the party; they would form a kind of fanatical bodyguard of the principles of the revolution. It would not be easy to become a member, and any weakening of the member's political faith would mean expulsion. The task of the Party (only one is allowed in Russia) is to educate public opinion and to keep watch for any signs of 'counter-revolutionary' action. Compared with the total population, the number of members of the Party is small: this makes it all the greater privilege to be allowed to join it. The Party is in fact the aristocracy of Russia, not an aristocracy of birth or wealth, but one of political faith and loyalty.

Lenin died in 1924. At once the struggle for power amongst the leaders began. Outside Russia many believed that after Lenin no one could control the nation or have his influence. Anti-revolutionaries began to hope for a return to the old order and waited for the overthrow of the men of Moscow. To their amazement, this hitherto unnoticed man, Joseph Stalin, gained complete control. This was the result of his own unshakable belief in the main principles of policy as laid down by Lenin, and to his great abilities as an organizer combined with unusual powers of sheer hard work.

The main struggle was with Trotsky, who, with Lenin gone, expected to take the first place. He certainly underestimated, and even despised, Stalin. It was, as so often in Russia, a battle of ideas. Trotsky believed in what he termed the 'permanent revolution'; that is, he looked forward to country after country

following Russia's lead by becoming Communist; he therefore advocated the carrying out of propaganda in all countries on behalf of the teachings of Marx. Stalin opposed this idea; he argued that the Western nations were not moving in the same direction as Russia, and that it would be best to create one efficient and successful Communist state before worrying about other countries.

The long story of the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky cannot be told here; there were open quarrels between the followers of the two men, and the fight became a menace to the progress of the country. In 1927 Trotsky was sent into exile. It would have been simpler if he had been imprisoned or even executed, for, from that time onwards, he became a rallying point outside Russia for all the discontented opponents of the policy followed by Stalin. Even to-day, you can get people very excited on the subject of Trotsky's theories. He wrote a powerful book on the Revolution which, inevitably, belittles the part played by Stalin, but the latter has now proved by the facts of war that his reading of the needs of his own people was the correct one. It is doubtful if a Russia governed by a temperamental Trotsky could have withstood the German onslaught as Stalin's Russia has done.

The exile of Trotsky was followed by the trial and execution of many of his followers. The world was amazed at the sight of the Bolsheviks apparently killing off each other, and before death making the most abject confessions and recantations. The same spectacle was to be seen some ten years later when another group of leaders, including prominent Army officers, was 'purged'. So unlike is this behaviour to our own ideas,

that we have sometimes talked of strange drugs being administered to these men, or of their making confessions under torture. The best explanation I know is written by a man who knew Russia before the Revolution and was in the country during that time. This is what he says :

‘First of all the Russian revolutionaries lived a life completely bound up with their party or sect. They knew no other life. If suddenly they were uprooted from the only surrounding they ever knew, they became completely unbalanced and their whole mental equilibrium was upset. But even deeper than this there was something which applied not to revolutionaries only, but to Russian life as a whole. The Russian is deeply religious, not necessarily in a Christian sense at all, but just religious in that he believes in some creed for the salvation of mankind. It may be Christianity, but it may just as easily be Marxism. It may be spiritual, but it may also be materialist. If he believed all his life that the Bolshevik Party would save Russia and Mankind by the World Revolution, and if he had accepted the authority of the party as part of his life, when suddenly that authority turns on him, he becomes overwhelmed by a sense of sin and starts to accuse himself of back-sliding. . . . So the Trotskyists blessed Stalin and cursed Trotsky before going to the firing squad after sentence by the revolutionary tribunal.’

The purge of the Trotskyists did not greatly excite world opinion ; a quarrel amongst revolutionaries seemed in keeping with the experience of the French Revolution when Robespierre had guillotined Danton and his followers. But the greater purges of 1935-7 were another matter. Here, as has been said, leading officers of the famous Red Army were involved and also

some of the oldest members of the Bolshevik Party. It was an ugly business, and many friends of Russia were revolted at the sight of so much bloodshed; even in Russia the very foundations of the state were shaken; but Stalin went on with that ruthlessness which is as much a national characteristic as his own. A new barrier to friendship was thus erected between Russia and other countries just when it seemed that better relations were becoming possible. To-day another explanation of what happened is sometimes offered. It may be put in the words used by a Frenchman of high position in discussing the matter with an American journalist in 1941. 'Yes, it must have been awful, like a madness, as you call it. But don't forget, mon ami, that in Russia they shot their Fifth Columnists, and in France we made them Cabinet Ministers. You see both results to-day . . . at Vichy, and on the Red war-front.' But that is to credit Stalin with almost superhuman foresight as an excuse for pitiless action.

Stalin had three major problems to deal with after the death of Lenin: the development of heavy industry; the organization of agriculture; and the creation of a first-class army.

The first task brings us to the well-known Five Year Plans. We all talk of planning nowadays, but it was Russia which proved that large-scale planning is practical. When in 1929 the first Five Year Plan was published, the general attitude outside Russia was sceptical; many, indeed, rather hoped that the whole thing would collapse, for there were many enemies of the Russian Revolution in the world. What happened was startling. The people are given definite objectives at which to aim—there is nothing vague about it, they

set to work with a will for they see the purpose of it all and it is the business of the members of the Party to make sure that the workers do understand that purpose ; success means that the standard of living of the whole people will be raised. So they compete with each other in output in the factories and mines ; they challenge one another to do better. In factories a special sign hangs over some machines or work benches ; these mark the worker as a Stakhanovite, that is, a man or woman who has reached a record output. The name is from that of a miner who became a national hero on account of his unusual powers of work. It is a truly amazing achievement—a whole people bent on beating its own records. The nearest parallel in Great Britain has been the series of drives for National Savings, each with a defined objective.

The first Five Year Plan was completed in four years. A second plan was then launched. At last other countries began to take Russia more seriously, though there were still some who refused to believe the facts and talked as if the whole thing were a hoax. This was partly due to the Russians themselves ; they can be most secretive about things they do not wish to be known ; for instance, no one outside Russia, and few inside it, really knew the facts about the Red Army and Air Force

Stalin encouraged the people to work hard so that the period of tightened belts could be passed as quickly as possible. It may seem strange to us that such a period of privation was necessary, for there was no lack of manpower nor of materials. This deliberate choice—made of course by the Party, but explained by its members to the people—was due to the need for rapid industrialization and for catching up with other nations in producing

manufactured goods. For the sake of an eventual benefit, the people accepted the need for temporary hardships ; these were chiefly the shortages in goods for immediate consumption. Moreover, Stalin and his colleagues always had at the back of their minds the possibility of war.

Stalin's speeches and writings were an important factor in the success achieved ; at times he cautioned the Russians about going to extremes ; for instance, he could warn them in these words—' We must not be carried away by the successes achieved and get swelled heads ' It is this quality of self control and common sense which impresses one again and again about Stalin. In his youth he was as hot-headed as any Georgian, but his training as an underground revolutionist taught him how to keep a firm grip on himself. As has been previously noted, he learned one of the hardest things of all—how to wait.

His abilities were certainly tested in the second of the great problems with which he was faced—the agricultural life of the State. Before the Revolution, the peasants had been little better than serfs ; the events of 1917 changed all that and the first instinct of each was to seize the bit of land on which he worked. There was no idea of combining as a team, each wanted to be on his own and scratch away for himself and his family. The methods used were almost primitive in many parts, the land was not worked in big units but in strips ; all was done by hand, little was known about keeping the soil fertile. The speeding up of industrialization meant that larger populations were growing in the towns ; new towns were springing up, there was therefore an increasing demand for the products of the farms. As



things were, this demand could not possibly be met. But the peasants were stubborn ; rather than yield to demands they thought unreasonable, chiefly because they were new, they killed off livestock, and grew no more than was needed by themselves. Here was a critical situation which had to be dealt with. On no matter has Stalin been more criticized than on his ruthless forcing through of the policy of creating collective farms out of the hundreds of holdings ; the new large units meant that tractors and other machinery could be used economically and the food needed could be produced.

It was a hard and bitter struggle. Many thousands died of privation ; many thousands were uprooted from their native districts and deported hundreds of miles away. All this is not so much typical of Stalin as typical of Russia ; one has only to read of the days of Peter the Great to see at once how Russia is, so to speak, repeating herself as far as the general attitude towards human life is concerned ; individuals do not count ; it is the people as a whole, Holy Russia, or Soviet Russia, which matters. In time success came—but only just in time ; for a further delay in producing the food needed by the industrial millions would have meant disaster.

Lastly there was the army. We have seen how soon Lenin realized that every nation's hand would be against Russia, and how important it was therefore to have a strong army with a powerful air force. So the Red Army came into being ; much was sacrificed to build it up ; the labour and equipment involved meant that other things could not be produced. There we have the unending problem which both Lenin and Stalin had to face—the order in which things should be done ;

and generally they chose the hard way so that the State might be safe from the invader. Wisely, all this was explained to the people through the nation-wide system of members of the Communist Party going about telling the people the whys and wherefores of policy. One result was that, when war did come, the people knew what it was about—and they had not tightened their belts for years and denied themselves comforts to lose everything to the Germans, or to any other enemies.

From time to time, news came of strange experiments being carried out in Russia; parachute troops, for instance. We saw news pictures of men floating down under great umbrellas; some of us smiled as at the games of children. The truth was that we did not know what to believe; reports brought back by visitors to Russia were either violently against, or equally violently in favour of, what she was doing. It was this element of uncertainty which made it difficult to put full confidence in the Red Army. Moreover the purges of high officers in 1935-7 suggested a lack of efficient leaders.

Stalin's policy of confining the revolution to one country, his own, led to several interesting results. Russia, for instance, joined the League of Nations and argued strongly in favour of a system of collective security, that is of all coming to the help of any member threatened by attack. Relations between Russia and other countries certainly improved from that time, but there was still much suspicion. Great Britain and France did something towards developing goodwill; but the United States remained aloof.

When war became almost a certainty in 1938-9,

many wondered what Russia would do ; no one could reasonably expect her to rush to the aid of countries which had cold-shouldered her for twenty years, and no one (in spite of what some have claimed later) thought that there could be any good relations between Germany and Russia, for Hitler had made Red Russia one of his greatest bogies.

Stalin made his moves, as usual, deliberately, and without any regard for outside opinion. Probably he puts less value on this than Lenin might have done ; Stalin has never lived abroad, nor has he travelled far from the Russian frontier. Possibly, however, no amount of travel would have altered this man's inflexible will power—he has one thing in mind all the time, the good of the Russian people, and once he has made up his mind that a certain line of action is in the interests of Russia as a whole, he moves forward relentlessly.

Between the summer of 1939 and that of 1941, Europe was to suffer a series of shocks from Russia. The first date brought the treaty between Russia and Germany ; it seemed incredible. When pictures appeared in the press of Stalin and Ribbentrop smiling at each other, many people must have felt repelled. Yet now we can see what Stalin was after ; he wanted as long a period as possible in which to prepare Russia for the war which he felt was inevitable, those munitions factories in the Urals were not yet ready ; more tanks and guns and aeroplanes were needed

The next shock was when Russia made demands on Finland regarding the frontier near Leningrad and the Baltic ports. Finland had the world's sympathy, for the attack which followed her refusal seemed a wanton

assault without any justification. When the Red Army seemed to fumble, the beliefs of many that it was not a first-class army appeared to be confirmed. But later, that opinion had to be revised. We do not yet know—though the Germans have said it—whether this poor showing was a deliberate blind or not. It may have been, for Stalin is a far-seeing man, and takes few chances.

Yet another shock was the forcing of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania to 'join' the Union of Soviet Republics; Stalin was determined to strengthen Russia's western frontier.

Within twelve months, all was changed. In June 1941, Hitler suddenly attacked Russia. Slowly the Germans pressed the Russians back until it looked as though Moscow itself would fall; the foreign diplomats were sent out of Moscow; but Stalin remained. Then the tide turned; the Germans were held. Later they too were to be forced to withdraw with hardly any respite even during winter, and the amazing defence of Stalingrad followed by the great surge forward taught the world once for all that Russia is a nation; more than that, it is a great people standing behind that strange man, Joseph Stalin.

For he is a strange man to those of us who think in terms of Great Britain and the United States. To some he seemed an Ogre—a man who held his position by 'liquidating' anyone who got in his way or threatened his position. To the Russians he is the greatest of all Russians; the children are taught to say, 'Thank you Comrade Stalin, for our happy life.' As the war has progressed so his stature has grown taller. It seems strange to us that he has never bothered to publicize himself, there are very few photographs of him; and

even on great occasions, such as a military review in Moscow, he appears to slip into the picture without any fanfare of trumpets. The world has become accustomed to the struttings and posturings of men like Hitler and Mussolini. In the news reels we have seen them marching between the serried ranks of their followers—the limelight turned on them; every device of the theatre has been used to ‘build up’ the popular picture of The Leader. There has been nothing of that about Stalin. Here is how he impressed a British novelist—Mr H. G. Wells, in 1934. Mr Wells was, at that time, one of the very few people who had ever interviewed Stalin.

Mr Wells first tells us that he went to the Kremlin with an unfavourable idea of Stalin in his mind; he thought of him as ‘a sort of Bluebeard at the centre of Russian affairs’. Then he gives us his impression of the real man.

‘All lingering anticipations of a dour sinister Highlander vanished at the sight of him. He is one of those people who in a photograph or painting become someone entirely different. He is not easy to describe, and many descriptions exaggerate his darkness and stillness. . . . My first impression was of a rather commonplace-looking man dressed in an embroidered white shirt, dark trousers and boots, staring out of the window of a large, generally empty room. He turned rather shyly and shook hands in a friendly manner. His face was also commonplace, friendly and commonplace, not very well modelled, not in any way “fine”. He looked past me rather than at me, but not evasively.’

Here is a more recent picture, this time from Mr Wendell Wilkie who at Mr Roosevelt’s request made a tour of Russia and China in 1942; the more general

impressions of his 31,000 mile trip are recorded in *One World*, and it is from this book that the following description of Stalin is taken.

‘Stalin, I should judge, is about five feet four or five, and gives the appearance of slight stockiness. I was surprised to find how short he is; but his head, his moustache, and his eyes are big. His face, in repose, is a hard face, and he looked tired in September—not sick, as is so often reported, but desperately tired. He had a right to be. He talks quietly, readily, and at times with a simple, moving eloquence. . . . On the personal side Stalin is a simple man, with no affectations or poses. He does not seek to impress by any artificial mannerisms. His sense of humour is a robust one. . . . Strange as it may seem, Stalin dresses in light pastel shades. His well-known tunic is of finely woven material and is apt to be a soft green or a delicate pink; his trousers a light tannish-yellow or blue. His boots are black and highly polished. Ordinary social pleasantries bother him a little. As I was leaving him after my first talk, I expressed appreciation of the time he had given me, the honour he conferred in talking so candidly. A little embarrassed, he said :

“‘Mr Wilkie, you know I grew up a Georgian peasant. I am unschooled in pretty talk. All I can say is I like you very much.’”

It is difficult in the midst of great events to see men in their true proportions, and it is too early yet to attempt a judgement of Stalin as man and leader. Whatever happens, we may be sure of one thing; nothing will stop Stalin from following the path he long ago set himself—the path leading to the happiness of the common people of Russia; he will allow nothing to obstruct that road.

## CHIANG KAI-SHEK

IN 1934 a distinguished Chinese author, Lin Yutang, wrote these words: 'China is the greatest mystifying and stupefying fact in the modern world, and that not only because of her age or geographical greatness. She is the oldest living nation with a continuous culture; she has the largest population; once she was the greatest empire in the world, and she was a conqueror, she gave the world some of its most important inventions, she has a literature, a philosophy, a wisdom of life entirely her own; and in the realm of art, she soared when others merely made an effort to flap their wings. And yet, to-day, she is undoubtedly the most chaotic, the most misruled nation on earth the most pathetic and most helpless, the most unable to pull herself together and forge ahead.'

That passage comes from a book called *My Country and My People*; when a new edition was published five years later, the author wrote in the Preface, 'Such a united nation of four hundred million people, with such a high morale and able leadership, can never be conquered by a foreign power.' This is undoubtedly too rosy a view of the situation, and it represents an ideal still to be attained; but it does contain an element of truth. What a change! From 'the most chaotic, the most misruled nation on earth', to 'such a united nation . . . with such a high morale and able leadership'. How had even some degree of this come about in the course of five years? The answer is to be found in the last word

of the quotation—'leadership', and that for China to-day means, Chiang Kai-shek, who is the youngest, and by no means the least remarkable, of the four statesmen described in these pages

He was born on 31 October 1887 at Feng-hua. This is a pleasant town about a hundred miles south of Shanghai on the coast of the province of Chekiang—at that part of China which thrusts farthest out into the Pacific Ocean. It is a beautiful district of hills and streams, waterfalls and flowers. A boy living in Feng-hua had all the excitement of a busy port and at the same time the delights of an attractive countryside.

In 1895 Chiang Su-an, the father of Chiang Kai-shek, died. (Here it may be pointed out that it has become customary in English, though not an absolute rule, to put the Chinese family name or surname first, and the personal names afterwards.) The Chiang family was not wealthy or of high standing; the widow was therefore left with a none too easy task, but she was a woman of determination and she was resolved that her nine-year-old son should have the best possible education; the necessary money came from her work in embroidery.

On his fiftieth birthday Chiang Kai-shek recalled the days of his boyhood.

'My father died when I was nine years old. After that, my family had to undergo all sorts of difficulties and tribulations.

'It will be remembered that the then Manchu régime was in its most corrupt state. The degenerated gentry and corrupt officials had made it a habit to abuse and maltreat the people.

'My family, solitary and without influence, became at once the target for such insults and maltreatment.



From time to time usurious taxes and unjust public services were forced upon us, and once we were publicly insulted before the court. To our regret and sorrow none of our relatives and kinsmen was stirred from this apathy.

‘Indeed the miserable condition of my family at that time is beyond description. It was entirely due to my mother and her kindness and perseverance that the family was saved from utter ruin. With an iron determination she boldly undertook to save the family from its threatened fate and, with the same determination, she resolutely undertook to bring up the children in the proper manner.

‘Her task was neither light nor enviable, for she had to look after everything herself. As a boy she loved me very dearly, but her love was more than the love of an average mother; she was a very strict disciplinarian. She never failed to hold me to strict account whenever I was unusually mischievous.

‘Upon returning home she would ask me where I had been and what I had been doing, and when I got back from school she would question me on the lesson of the day. She taught me how to conduct and behave myself. She would make me do manual work to train me physically. In a word, all her time and energy were devoted to my well-being.’

From the reference to the Manchus, it is clear that Chiang Kai-shek had small reason to respect the Government of China at the turn of the century.

The Manchu or Ch’ing dynasty controlled China from 1583 to the Revolution of 1912. The last of the line, P’u Yi, now reigns as the Japanese puppet King of Manchukuo—as the Japanese now call Manchuria;

he has thus returned to the land from which his ancestors set out to conquer China. The Manchus were always regarded as an alien race by the Chinese, who were forced to wear the pigtail as an outward sign of their subjection

It was while the Manchus were seizing power that the first of the western traders arrived. The Portuguese reached Macao in 1517, and they were quickly followed by representatives of other nations, all eager for trade with this mysterious country. Then also came Jesuit priests, not for trade but in order to spread Christianity ; they were learned men and as such they were warmly welcomed by the emperors, for in China the scholar has always been regarded with the greatest respect

To the surprise of the traders, the Chinese showed no enthusiasm for trade ; had they been able to do so they would have kept all foreigners away. As it was, the emperors restricted the traders to a few ports such as Canton where the East India Company of Great Britain started trading in 1684. Just over a century later, in 1793, the first British Ambassador to China, Lord Macartney, visited Peking, but his experience was not encouraging ; for the Emperor, who was celebrating his eightieth birthday, assumed that Lord Macartney had come solely to congratulate him in the name of George III !

The industrial developments of the nineteenth century and the search for new markets for manufactured goods resulted in more persistent attempts on the part of the western nations to 'open up' China. The subsequent history of this particular aspect of the clash of East and West is far from pleasant reading. There was, for instance, war between China and Great Britain in 1840.

This was an unhappy affair known as the first of the Opium Wars. The Emperor had forbidden the smoking of opium, but it was brought to the country from India chiefly in British ships, and the constant friction between Chinese officials and the British over this illegal traffic inevitably led to war. As a result of the war Great Britain was granted Hong-Kong.

We cannot here follow in detail the unhappy story of the relations between China and the Western nations. The Manchu Emperors gradually declined in power; the vast country over which they ruled was actually controlled by the governors of the provinces and they were in effect independent as long as the taxes reached Peking. This kind of irresponsible government leads to corruption and petty tyranny. So at the time of Chiang Kai-shek's boyhood there were two powerful emotions stirring the Chinese people—one was hatred of the foreigners who treated them as if they were an inferior race, and the other was hatred of the rapidly deteriorating Manchus.

The first emotion found terrible expression in the Boxer Rebellion. The Boxers were a secret society whose full name was 'the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Boxers'; they wandered about the country giving exhibitions of boxing and sword-dancing. They made capital out of growing popular feeling against the Foreign Devils and gained the secret support of the Court under an Empress-Dowager who has been described as 'a vain old woman intoxicated with hatred'. She believed their story that foreign bullets could not harm them. In 1900 the storm burst and at length the combined forces of the eight nations, Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, U.S.A., Italy and

Austria, put down the rising and imposed severe terms of peace. This was in effect the end of the Manchu dynasty, for although the Empress-Dowager lived on for a few years, her power was broken. The Chinese reminded themselves that the Manchus were also foreigners and must be expelled. The country was ripe for revolution and the leader was at hand in Dr Sun Yat-Sen.

In 1905, Chiang Kai-shek went to Japan in the hope of entering a military academy, but he was refused admission, however, his short stay in the country was of the greatest importance, for he then met Dr Sun Yat-Sen who was taking refuge from his enemies. Very early in life he had developed a strong republican faith; he was brought up as a Christian and was trained in Hawaii and Hong-Kong; he took his doctor's degree at the latter place and then opened a chemist's shop in Canton which was in reality a centre of revolutionary activity. It was not long before he became suspect to the Government and had to fly from the country. He went to the United States and later to Great Britain, in London in 1896 he was kidnapped by the Chinese Embassy, but the British Foreign Office insisted on his release. For some years he had to use Japan or Annam as his headquarters; he travelled ceaselessly, urging people to get rid of the Manchus, organizing revolutionary groups and collecting funds. It was after an ineffective rising at Canton in 1902 and of another at Hunan in 1904, that Sun Yat-Sen withdrew to Japan.

We know nothing of that first meeting between the youth of eighteen and the revolutionary leader except the most important fact of all—it brought Sun Yat-Sen his greatest disciple, and Chiang Kai-shek has never

made any claim other than that he is putting into practice the principles of his master. It is important for the understanding of recent Chinese history and of Chiang Kai-shek that we should know something of these principles. They can be summarized in the words of a Chinese writer of to-day, Tsui Chi :

‘The *San Mui Chu I*—“Three Principles of the People”—may sound neither remarkable nor new to Western ears, to whom the Rights of Man is already an old story, but to China at the beginning of the twentieth century they were something to marvel over. The three principles were those of Nationalism, Democracy, and Livelihood. The principle of Nationalism was to unite the five sub-races which compose the modern Chinese people, and to give them political, economic, and social equality. . . . It also declared that China should be freed from foreign pressure so that she stood as an independent nation among the modern nations of the world.

‘The principle of Livelihood dealt with the protection of the workers from unjust laws, the control and limitation of capital, the regulation of land ownership, the development of peasants’ and workers’ movements, and their political education. Under the principle of Democracy were classed all those “rights” which are now a commonplace in the West—a state belonging to all the people, a government controlled by all the people, and rights and benefits for the encouragement of all the people.’

Sun Yat-Sen thought that there would be three stages in China’s development to full republican government. In the first, the revolutionary army would have to gain control and do what it could to bring some degree of

unity to the country, the second stage would be one of political education or of preparing the people for self-government; this work of education would be largely the task of the Chinese Revolutionary Party, Chung Kuo Ke Min Tang, a name now commonly shortened to Kuomintang. It is not easy to become a member of the Kuomintang; an applicant has to pass several tests in knowledge of political principles before being accepted. The third stage which Sun Yat-Sen foretold would arrive when, having been sufficiently trained in the responsibilities of citizenship, the people would elect a representative Congress to govern a united Chinese Republic. Such paper schemes seldom work out in actual life, and although it looks as though Stage One—the military period—is still developing, the second stage—political education—is rapidly progressing at the same time.

It was a disappointment to Chiang Kai-shek not to be allowed entrance to the Japanese military academy, for the Japanese were already far in advance of China in such matters. He took the next best course and gained admission to the Paoting Military School in his own country. One of his first actions was to cut off his pigtail as a sign of defiance to the Manchu rulers. In 1907, however, his ambition was gained, for he was chosen as a promising student to take a course at the Military Academy in Tokyo. For two years he devoted himself to his studies and then he was attached to the 13th Field Artillery of the Japanese Army as a private. He does not seem to have made any impression on his officers, who would have been shocked had they known his revolutionary activities as a supporter of Sun Yat-Sen.

On 10 October 1911, there was a mutiny amongst the

Imperial Chinese troops at Wuchang. Was this the beginning of the revolution? Chiang Kai-shek, nearly 24 years old, and some of his fellow countrymen at the academy, at once set out secretly for China. They landed at Shanghai and he offered his services to the Chinese revolutionary leader, Chen Chi-mei, who sent Chiang Kai-shek to raise the standard of revolt in Hangchow. He successfully captured the barracks and then returned to Shanghai where things had not gone so smoothly for Chen Chi-mei; by the time Chiang Kai-shek arrived the position was improving, and indeed by December the revolutionaries had taken Nanking. The Emperor now took fright and called back into his service a military leader, Yuan Shih-Kai, who had, a few years previously, been dismissed.

On Christmas Day, Chen Chi-mei and Chiang Kai-shek met Dr Sun Yat-Sen on his arrival at Shanghai and on New Years Day, 1912, in Nanking, Dr Sun was installed as President of the Republic of China.

Meantime Yuan had been weighing up the chances and had come to the conclusion that, for the time being at any rate, the revolutionaries were a safer horse to back than the Manchus. Dr Sun Yat-Sen accepted Yuan's offer of alliance and even went so far as to resign his position as President in Yuan's favour. The Doctor then devoted his energies to the development of the Kuomintang, and by so doing was actually laying the foundations for permanent success in the future. Chiang Kai-shek took the opportunity to withdraw once more to Japan to pursue his military studies and to think out the best ways and means of serving his country.

Even at that time he may have had less confidence in Yuan's honesty than had Dr Sun Yat-Sen, for Chiang

Kai-shek has always shown himself to be a practical statesman as well as an idealist, while his leader was a pure idealist and apt to accept anyone's spoken faith in the republican cause. Events showed that Dr Sun Yat-Sen had been deceived in Yuan, for the new President set to work to increase his own personal power. With this in view, he set up generals to control the various parts of the country, but as their loyalty was on a simple cash basis, they saw no reason for supporting Yuan once they were established with the power to extract what wealth they could from their 'subjects'. This turning of the tables on Yuan looked like a good opportunity for the true republicans to rise against him.

Chiang Kai-shek came back from Japan in 1913 and once more joined his old leader, Chen Chi-meí, in Shanghai. Their plan to seize the arsenal failed and Yuan's troops drove them from the city. Yuan then abolished the Kuomintang and when he dissolved the Parliament in 1914 it was clear that he aimed at little less than the Imperial throne itself. Feeling against him hardened when, in May 1915, he agreed to the infamous Twenty-one Demands of Japan. This happened during the first Great War; Japan declared war on Germany and with the help of the British took the German Treaty port of Chiao-chou on the Chinese mainland. When the Germans had been cleared out, the British, at the request of the Chinese, who had also joined the Allied Nations, withdrew, but the Japanese were not so easily to be persuaded to give up their foothold on Chinese territory. When asked to leave, they described the request as insulting and then made in reply these Twenty-one Demands. China was asked amongst other things to accept Japanese occupation of Chiao-chou, to allow



her railway concessions and a share in the working of the iron and coal mines, and to employ Japanese advisers in the government. These shameful demands were granted by Yuan, and when a few months later he packed a Parliament to bolster up his claims to the Imperial throne, rebellion broke out in the south.

Once again Chiang Kai-shek led an attack in Shanghai, and it was only by force that his men got him away from the danger zone as Yuan's troops gained the upper hand. To add to Chiang Kai-shek's disappointment, Chen Chi-mei was killed, but the rebellion spread to such a degree that Yuan tried to pacify the country by renouncing any idea of becoming Emperor. But for him it was a wasted gesture: he was taken ill and died on 6 June 1916.

While Yuan's death solved one problem—the problem of Yuan—it left the country in a state of chaos, almost bordering on anarchy. To the outside world it looked as though a united China, still less a republican China, was an impossible dream.

Sun Yat-Sen, however, did not despair. The country south of the great river Yangtse had revolted against Yuan and now it became the centre of republican activity. In the north former generals of Yuan's army fought amongst themselves and terrorized the whole country. While these war-lords became rich, the government and administration of the areas they ravaged almost ceased to exist. Such a condition invited the intervention of such a highly organized neighbour as Japan. Between the north and the south, one of the most capable of Yuan's generals, Wu P'ei-fu, was trying to set up a separate government.

In 1917 Sun Yat-Sen called a Parliament at Canton

and was elected President and also Commander-in-Chief or Generalissimo. The actual work of commanding the forces was carried out by Chiang Kai-shek, whom Sun Yat-Sen had called to his side as his most reliable military leader. Chiang Kai-shek at once set to work to bring some kind of order into the army; he insisted, for instance, on properly kept accounts. 'War is business but not private business,' he said. This was so contrary to Chinese custom that he was far from popular with his generals. Moreover at that period he held himself aloof from others and so came to be regarded as cold and almost inhuman.

Sun Yat-Sen was not to have a smooth passage. For seven or eight years after Yuan's death his fortunes fluctuated. There were occasions when he had to find safety in flight to Hong-Kong or Shanghai; Chiang Kai-shek was often his companion and so came to have a very thorough grasp of his leader's ideas. This fellowship in adversity as well as in success has meant that many Chinese see in Chiang Kai-shek the natural heir to Sun Yat-Sen.

It soon became apparent that if the republic was ever to become established it must have at its disposal stronger and better trained and equipped forces than the war lords could organize. Sun Yat-Sen hoped at first to get British help, but Britain did not feel able to support one party in a foreign country against the others. So he turned to Russia, which by 1921 was beginning to recover from the violent revolutionary years. Moscow was only too willing to help, and sent Michael Borodin as adviser to the Kuomintang. One inevitable result of this was that a Chinese Communist party was founded and was later to gain considerable support.

With the same purpose in mind—the creation of a strong army—Sun Yat-Sen sent Chiang Kai-shek to Moscow in 1923 to study the methods of training the Red Army. Borodin brought with him the instructors, and, what was just as urgently needed, the funds for establishing a Military Academy at Whampoa, near Canton. On his return to China, Chiang Kai-shek became President of this Academy. In spite of his strict discipline and severe standards of living, he gradually won the whole-hearted loyalty of the cadets, and to-day many of the military leaders of the Chinese Army are former students of Whampoa and are now just as devoted to their leader as they were as young men.

The northern war-lords defeated Wu P'ei-fu in 1924, and then invited Dr Sun to go to Peking in the hope of reaching an understanding. Before the negotiations could be carried far, however, he died. A hasty judgement might be that he failed, but since death his influence has been even more powerful than during his lifetime, and it is not entirely fanciful to see a parallel between Lenin with his disciple Stalin and Dr Sun with his disciple, Chiang Kai-shek.

At the time of Dr Sun's journey north to meet the war-lords, Chiang Kai-shek was fighting against an anti-republican rising in the South. When a rumour of his death reached Peking Dr Sun exclaimed, 'Alas! I would rather have lost a hundred thousand troops than this Kai-shek of mine.' But, fortunately for China, he was not dead.

At the time of Dr Sun's death, Chiang Kai-shek was not widely known—outside China his name would have meant nothing beyond being that of yet another Chinese

general probably intent on feathering his own nest: such indeed was the poor reputation gained for the leaders of China after a decade of banditry and civil war. But new forces were stirring. The influence of Dr Sun's teaching gradually gained strength, especially amongst the students of the Universities. Here was a new class developing an outlook of its own. For many years young men, such as Dr Sun himself, had been going to the United States or to European countries in search of education. By 1925, hundreds of thousands of these young men as well as an increasing number of young women had returned to spread ideas which clashed with many of the age-long Chinese customs and beliefs, yet found a ready acceptance amongst the rising generation. Added to this increasing influence was that of the colleges founded in China itself mainly by American missionaries, but to a lesser extent by British and other missionaries. Yet another element in this mental and spiritual ferment was the effect of the Russian revolution—first as something seen from a distance, and then as explained by the military advisers and others from Moscow.

It is important to remember that Chiang Kai-shek himself was educated in his own country and received some of his military training in Japan. Apart from his brief stay in Moscow he has no first-hand knowledge of any country outside the East; he has not been to the United States, nor to England. This has not been a matter of policy but rather the result of the continuous demands made upon him as a military and political leader. The war has taken him outside China for brief visits to India, and in 1943 to Cairo where he met Mr Churchill and Mr Roosevelt.

His visit to Moscow did not make him a Communist; how far he went in his sympathies is not known, but within a few years of his return to China he showed that he did not regard the teachings of Marx and Lenin as applicable to his own country. On this point he differed from Dr Sun, who had gone a considerable way in linking up the Kuomintang with the Communists—a policy which was reversed after his death.

Chiang Kai-shek saw clearly that the immediate enemies were the war-lords and bandits of China itself; he also recognized that until there was effective unity in the country, nothing permanent could be achieved, and all the time he was aware that Japan could prove to be a far more dangerous enemy than any Western power. The wonder is that in spite of all the chaos created by war-lords, by fanatical nationalists, and by Communists, he held firmly to his policy; had he withdrawn from the struggle, no one could have blamed him.

He argued that all this wasted energy should be put into the immediate task of defeating the war-lords. At length, in August 1926, he began to march his troops north. As he went the extreme nationalists and even the Communists joined forces with him. In March 1927 he captured Nanking and there, in accordance with Dr Sun's wishes, the national capital was established. He then went to Shanghai to negotiate with the bankers for financial support; during his absence the Communists attacked foreigners in Nanking. The governments of the nationals who had been attacked protested strongly, but were placated when Chiang Kai-shek returned to Nanking and suppressed the riots; in so doing he increased the suspicions of the Communists, who already believed that he was in the pay of the foreign capitalists

and not really interested in the lot of the common people —after all, such double-dealing was part of the normal behaviour of a Chinese war-lord, so why not of Chiang Kai-shek? They had still to learn that he was not a self-seeking General.

One result of the Nanking incident was the break between the Kuomintang and the Communists; this added to China's difficulties as it introduced a fresh division in the country. The Communists, with some of the most extreme members of the Kuomintang under Wang Ching-wie, set up their own capital at Wuhan (actually three towns including Hankow); so there were now three capitals in China: Nanking, the headquarters of the Kuomintang with Chiang Kai-shek as commander-in-chief; Wuhan under Wang Ching-wie and the Communists; and Peking, where the war-lords disputed between themselves. Affairs, however, did not go smoothly at Wuhan; the extreme group which had left the Kuomintang quarrelled with the Communists, and Wang Ching-wie was strong enough to arrest some of the leaders and to expel others; then, too, the Russian advisers left the country. This break with the Communists seemed to provide an excellent opportunity for trying to re-unite the Kuomintang; to further this most desirable purpose, Chiang Kai-shek resigned his military command in August 1927 and withdrew to Japan. A united National Government was then set up in Nanking, but the Communists and the war-lords remained as opponents: the former because they wanted to see China as a second Russia, and the latter because they were only interested in their personal power and wealth.

During this interval an event of the greatest importance took place in Chiang Kai-shek's personal history:

in December 1927 he was married to Mei-ling Soong, who, as Madame Chiang, plays an important part in Chinese life. She is a member of a highly gifted family. Her eldest sister, A-ling, married Dr H. H. Kung, Finance Minister of China, a descendant of Confucius. The second sister, Ching-ling, married Dr Sun Yat-Sen. The eldest brother, T. V. Soong, is China's Foreign Minister and a statesman of proved ability; his two brothers are important merchant-bankers in Shanghai. It is not therefore surprising that it is sometimes said that the 'Soong Dynasty' has come to power in China; this however is entirely wrong if it implies that Chiang Kai-shek is a figure-head; his own outstanding abilities have brought him to his present position of influence. But this alliance with a wealthy family added to the suspicions with which he was regarded by orthodox Communists.

Madame Chiang was educated in the United States, and, like all the members of her family, is a Christian. At the time of his marriage to her, Chiang Kai-shek was a devout Buddhist; in 1930 he became a Christian and a member of the Chinese Methodist Church. His wife's influence had naturally been one of the factors leading to this, and her mother, a woman of deep religious faith, by her example also turned his thoughts towards Christianity. No one has ever questioned the sincerity of his conversion; it was, for instance, of no advantage politically; he is a serious reader of the Bible and this has affected his outlook on life; it has unquestionably helped to strengthen the quiet courage with which he has faced the trials of the past ten years.

Chiang Kai-shek and his wife had but a brief honeymoon in Shanghai, for the government at Nanking

found that it could not get on without him. He returned as Generalissimo (or Supreme Commander-in-Chief) and at once opened a fresh campaign against the northern war-lords, this to him was the immediate task, for he saw that national progress was impossible as long as these men dominated a large part of the country. Marshal Chang Tso-lin was the most powerful of the war-lords and he had secured the support of the Japanese, who dreaded more than anything else a united China. When therefore Chiang Kai-shek marched north, the Japanese—although nominally at peace with China—barred the road to Peking. The Generalissimo had no wish to start a war against Japan at that period, some clash was unavoidable, but he swept round the Japanese forces and took Peking. This resulted in the collapse of all opposition. Marshal Chang fled to Manchuria, but died when his train was blown up. His position was taken by his son Chang Hseuh-ling, known as the young Marshal; he at once showed his opposition to Japan by making an alliance with the Nanking government, and the new Chinese flag flew in Mukden as well as in Peking and Nanking.

It was with deep emotion that Chiang Kai-shek, accompanied by Teng Yu-hsiang, known as the Christian General, and the young Marshal, went to the tomb of Sun Yat-Sen and there celebrated the achievement of a United Chinese Republic. The union, however, was far from complete, for the Communist Red Army had been strengthening itself while Chiang Kai-shek was engaged with the war-lords.

By avoiding a major conflict with Japan at that time, he served his country well, but his action gave rise to considerable doubt, especially amongst the Communists,



of his sincerity ; it was said that he was secretly in the pay of Japan and of the merchants and bankers of the International Settlement of Shanghai. Fortunately for China, opposition of this kind did not turn him from his chosen course ; he pursued one purpose steadily—the unification of his country—for he realized that Japan wanted a divided China and dreaded nothing more than a united China.

After the suppression of the war-lords, one main source of division remained—the Communists. The tragedy of the struggle between them and Chiang Kai-shek was that both sides were sincerely and deeply concerned with the future of their country. The fact that he opposed Communism is a proof of his own independence of judgement : Sun Yat-Sen had welcomed the Communists and the Russian advisers, and for some years Mme Sun Yat-Sen as a consequence remained aloof from her brother-in-law's activities, as we have seen, Chiang Kai-shek had visited Moscow, and in spite of this (or perhaps because of this) he was not captured by what he saw and heard. At the same time it must be remembered that he did not have a western education, as so many Chinese leaders have had, and he speaks no language other than his own : he may owe his present position to the fact that he is so thoroughly Chinese in his outlook and has been little affected by foreign political theories. He is not ignorant of Western ideas and ways, for his close relatives, the Soongs, are deeply influenced by the years of training they had in the United States.

What kind of man is he ? A missionary who has lived in China for thirty years has written, ' There were photographs in the shops of Canton in 1926 of many

well-known politicians and soldiers. Among them was a slim boyish figure. That, I was told, was the new military leader, Chiang Kai-shek. . . . This leader is trim and neat. Somehow he has more the appearance of the scholar than of the man of war. He is no fighter for fighting's sake, or revolutionary because he had developed the habit of revolt. Mr Wendell Wilkie—the opponent of Mr Roosevelt in the 1940 Presidential Election—has written, 'I can write no account of China without setting down my own conclusions that the Generalissimo, both as a man and as a leader, is bigger than his legendary reputation. He is a strangely quiet, soft-spoken man. When he is not in military uniform he wears Chinese dress, and this accentuates the impression he makes of a scholar—almost a clerical scholar—rather than a political leader. He is obviously a trained listener, used to the task of picking other men's brains. . . . The Generalissimo is reported to spend a part of every day in prayer and Bible reading. He has acquired from this, or from some childhood influence, a reflective manner, a quiet pose, and an occasional appearance of thinking out loud. He is undoubtedly sincere, and his dignity and personal imperturbability have something almost severe in quality.'

China was united under the Nanking Government in appearance only. At times its authority did not go very far outside the capital, and its continued existence has depended on Chiang Kai-shek. We must not think of him as a popular leader, certainly at that period he had many enemies in his own country, and he never troubled to go out of his way to please the mob; there has always been a certain austerity in his life which has cut him off from others.

The Communists had settled in Kiangsi province and their Red Army was under the command of Chu Teh ; they specialized in guerilla warfare and so attracted many who loved such a free and easy but dangerous life. The members of this rapidly growing army were educated politically in the teachings of Karl Marx, and this further inspired them with an almost religious faith. Six times Chiang Kai-shek launched large-scale attacks on the Communists, and by 1934 their position seemed desperate. Then occurred one of those episodes which give one an increased admiration for the spirit of man—the Red Army decided to migrate to the north-west. They marched six thousand miles under incredible difficulties and set up their Chinese Soviet Republic in Kansu.

Chiang Kai-shek has been severely criticized for the way in which he strenuously fought the Chinese Communists at a time when Japanese designs in China were becoming more and more hostile. He held firmly to his policy that only a united China could successfully beat off a foreign attack ; this unity he regarded as the necessary basis of all future policy, and he pursued this aim in spite of the bitter criticisms and even suspicions aroused by his action.

Japan's first open act of aggression took place in September 1931, when a surprise attack was made on Mukden, the chief town of Manchuria. This had been possible because, as a result of the Russian-Japanese war of 1904-5, Japan had taken over the railways which had previously been financed and controlled by Russia. The excuse for this attack on Mukden was that the blowing up of a bridge just outside the town had been the work of Chinese. subsequent investigation proved that the Japanese had engineered the whole affair.

China appealed to the League of Nations, and eight months later a Commission of inquiry arrived in Manchuria. Even before the League Commission had got to work, the Japanese struck again. In January 1932—just long enough after the Mukden incident to be sure that the League could do nothing effective—the Japanese, without declaring war, attacked the Chinese garrisons in Shanghai. Their excuse this time was the violent anti-Japanese feeling shown by the Chinese as a result of the seizure of Manchuria; Japanese goods were boycotted and the students, a very important element in Chinese opinion, organized violent demonstrations. The aggressors boasted that they would occupy Shanghai within four hours, but they, and the watching world, were surprised by the fierce resistance put up by the Chinese. This unexpected opposition made Japan willing to negotiate terms of peace, but both sides knew that it was little more than a truce; indeed Japan continued to consolidate her position in Manchuria and later in Jehol, the neighbouring Chinese province.

Even then Chiang Kai-shek was apparently more intent on suppressing the Communists than on driving out the Japanese, and it was little wonder that people found it difficult to understand his motives. Subsequent events, however, have justified his longsighted policy. One thing became clearer every month: the civil war in China was a constant invitation to the Japanese to continue their attacks on the divided country they coveted.

The Generalissimo was doing more than build up a country capable of making war. To think of him as a military leader only would be inadequate, he is undoubtedly an outstanding soldier, but that alone,

would not have won him the leading position he now holds in China—a country where for centuries the soldier has been regarded as a man who is to be pitied! They have a saying that ‘Good iron is not made into nails, and good men are not ‘made soldiers’. Force of circumstances, with Japan as the agent, has made them learn the latest methods of destruction reluctantly. Their traditional pacifism would have prevented the Chinese from making Chiang Kai-shek a national hero—had he been nothing but a military leader—however brilliant.

In two directions he has proved himself a leader of his people in the arts of peace, and in both he has had the help of his wife. The first has been his effort to improve the local government of the country, and the second his determination to set before the people a high standard of living, not only materially but morally.

The vast size of China meant in the past that the Governors of the more remote provinces became almost independent rulers as long as they sent the Emperor the taxes. This in itself has been an obstacle to unity. Chiang Kai-shek was quick to see how the aeroplane had changed the whole situation, and with Mme Chiang he made a series of long flights to parts of the country which had rarely, if ever, seen the head of the central government. An account of one such visit will serve as a sample of his methods.

‘Upon his entrance into Kiveigang (over 800 miles west of Nanking), the Generalissimo immediately busied himself with conferences with local officials, but also found time to take walks around the city and see for himself the conditions existing at that time. He was not long in discovering that the province was

opium-ridden and that the people were sodden with the drug. . . . Furthermore the Generalissimo found that there had been chronic misgovernment. Officials never appeared in their offices before noon and then stayed but a short while . . . After he had seen all this for himself, the honeyed words the official welcomers had lavished upon him fell like water from a duck's back. He was not at all the customary polite, visiting official who saved the collective 'face' of these officials. He flayed the curse of opium and told them that they would have to wipe it out and do something to develop the province and give the people legitimate and proper employment. Eventually he indicated that that was all he had to say, and in dead silence, broken only by the faltering efforts of a band to make a happy noise which dismally failed, the Generalissimo strode out with a grim face . . . there followed a general house-cleaning of officials of the old régime'

' The second direction in which he shows his leadership is found in the New Life Movement. This was begun as an attempt to raise the general level of conduct and manners: stress was put on such qualities as honesty, good judgement, simplicity and cleanliness. An incident which occurred at a New Life meeting at which the Generalissimo was speaking, will illustrate the practical application of his ideas. A cameraman was busy pushing his way here and there to get photographs. he was carelessly and slovenly dressed. Chiang Kai-shek at once used him as an example of what China should avoid. —the man carried with him the most up-to-date camera, yet he himself obviously did not put into practice the principles of orderliness, cleanliness, and so on, which were advocated in the New Life Movement.

Progress in spreading such ideas is slow in a vast country such as China where so many are illiterate, but much more has been achieved than scoffers at first expected. Part of the campaign was devoted to the spread of education. Here one of the obstacles was the varieties of dialect and the complicated system of writing. So a vocabulary of the thousand most used characters was chosen and books were produced limited to this list. Soldiers receive schooling as part of their military training. And so, gradually, the work progresses. The proof of its success is shown in the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the students and their teachers during the war against Japan.

It must be remembered, then, that while Chiang Kai-shek was building up an army and endeavouring to suppress Communism, he was also strengthening morale by setting before the people ideals of life and conduct for which they would be prepared to sacrifice much. He knew that he was working against time and was consequently prepared to go a long way in avoiding open warfare with Japan. Others did not agree with his policy, and an extraordinary incident showed that he had gone almost too far.

In 1936 he sent General Chang Hsueh-liang (the young Marshal) with his forces against the Communists. Soon it became clear that the young Marshal was not conducting the campaign with any enthusiasm, and rumours spread that there was fraternization between his men and the Communists on the grounds that they should all be fighting the Japanese and not each other. When he heard this, the Generalissimo flew to Sian where the young Marshal had his headquarters. There was an obvious risk in such a direct challenge, but Chiang

Kai-shek has never lacked courage. One morning his bodyguard was overpowered, and he himself was taken prisoner by the young Marshal's orders. The Generalissimo was informed by his captor that the officers of the army demanded that terms should be made with the Communists, and that the Japanese aggression should be at once resisted. The captive refused to discuss such matters as long as he was a prisoner, he even refused to see the young Marshal again. Meanwhile there was consternation throughout China; people realized how much they depended on Chiang Kai-shek even when they did not understand his policy. For two weeks he refused to discuss terms and this firm attitude undoubtedly won for him even greater respect. The young Marshal realized that he had got himself into an impossible position. A solution was found when Mme Chiang, despite all warnings, flew to Sian and insisted on sharing her husband's lot. Before setting out, she persuaded the Government to refrain from attacking the Generalissimo's captors. At Sian she discussed the problem with the young Marshal, and at length he gave up any further attempt to exact terms; he even accompanied the Generalissimo and Mme Chiang back to Nanking on 26 December. The news spread rapidly, and at once demonstrations of joy broke out. The Bishop of Hong-Kong records, 'Suddenly crackers started going off with tremendous gusto. Our Chinese servant came in, grinning widely, and told us, "China No. 1 Government man has returned Nanking."'

The young Marshal submitted to discipline, and has not since regained his former authority. Chiang Kai-shek declared that he himself was in part to blame since he had failed to win the complete confidence of his



officers ; he was persuaded not to resign, and for a time he withdrew to his native town. Thus this curious incident closed—one so difficult for a Western mind to understand. It resulted in the end of the disastrous civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists, for the latter were satisfied that Chiang Kai-shek was sincere in his intentions to oppose the Japanese as soon as possible. It would however be wrong to speak of complete unity ; rather, a truce was agreed upon. As the years of war pass, so signs of fundamental disagreement on home policy multiply. Even on the conduct of the war, there is not full co-operation ; the Communists complain, for instance, that their soldiers do not get their fair share of armaments. The position is summed up by Mr Wendell Wilkie in his book, *One World*, in the following account of a meeting he had with one of the Communist generals.

‘He defined to me the nature of the compromise on both sides on which China’s wartime united front has been built. He admitted impatience with what he regarded as the slowness of domestic reform in China, but assured me that the united front would last certainly until Japan was defeated. When I asked him if he thought it would survive the strain of the old Kuomintang-Communist enmity after the war, he was frankly not willing to make predictions. However, he had undoubted respect for and faith in the selfless devotion of the Generalissimo to China. He was not so sure of some of her other leaders.’

The end of the civil war convinced Japan that she must strike soon ; so another ‘incident’ was staged, and in July 1937 war between the two countries began, though there was no formal declaration.

Chiang-Kai-shek's plan of campaign was ready. He knew that China could not hope to hold its northern provinces, nor, without a navy, its coast. The Japanese forces must be delayed as long as possible while preparations were made for retreating inland where he could build up resistance and eventually take the offensive. The strength and speed of Japan's attack was unexpected, and the withdrawal had to be made more hurriedly than was desirable. By the end of 1937, the chief towns and coastal regions had been overrun, and these have since remained in Japanese hands with slight fluctuations when the Chinese have won local successes.

The withdrawal to the interior and the setting up of a new capital at Chungking was a remarkable achievement. The machinery of factories was carried piecemeal to the west; students and professors set off with what books and equipment they could carry and trudged hundreds of miles to set up their colleges in caves until buildings could be erected. This determination to survive the barbarism of the enemy is one of the most hopeful signs in a far from hopeful situation.

The occupation of the whole coast meant that supplies of munitions could only reach the Chinese armies through Indo-China or Burma. The Burma Road has become a symbol, for the last half of 1940 Great Britain agreed to close the Road under political pressure from Japan which could not then be resisted. It was open again during 1941, and then the sweeping victories of Japan—taking in the whole coast almost to India and the islands down to Australia—once more made transport impossible. Russia had been sending supplies overland until she herself was attacked by Germany. The situation was desperate; it was simply impossible for the

United Nations in their extremity to spare much for China.

But under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, she grimly held on ; as the war production of Great Britain and the United States got into full swing, so it was possible to give more aid to China.

Through all these long years, and 7 July 1944 marked the beginning of the eighth year of the conflict, one man has maintained the leadership of this great people. The meeting of Chiang Kai-shek with Mr Churchill and Mr Roosevelt at Cairo in the autumn of 1943 symbolized more than the determination of the United Nations to fight together until victory ; it was the meeting of three great leaders. The fourth, Marshal Stalin, was not there, for Russia is at peace with Japan ; but his subsequent meeting at Teheran with Mr Churchill and Mr Roosevelt linked up, by personal contact, the four men in whom millions have put their deepest hopes.

# NOTES

## ASOKA MAURYA

Page 1. *Chanakya* famous as an administrator and a policy-maker. His book, *Chanakya Niti*, is manual of statecraft. Unfortunately in the popular mind his name is a bye-word for crafty deals.

Page 2. *suttee* : the practice of burning widows along with their dead husbands

Page 3. *Amazons* warlike women from Asia Minor who helped the Trojans against the Greeks in the Trojan war, now warlike women

Page 5. *edicts* . orders issued by authority.

## SRI HARSHA OF KANAUJ

Page 12. *the Gobi desert* the desert region of Central Asia, especially in Mongolia

Page 14 *venison* the flesh of the deer

Page 17. *mandarin* the European name for a Chinese official, especially a magistrate

## AKBAR, THE GREAT MOGUL

Page 18. *Hafiz and Jalal-ud-Din-Rumi* . the two great poets of Persia. They are still great favourites with the lovers of Persian literature all over the world. They are called Sufi poets because they followed an idealistic and pantheistic system of mysticism.

Page 20. *Jauhar* the mounting of the funeral pyre voluntarily for self-immolation in order to protect one's honour

Page 24. *Nanak* Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism

*Kabir* . one of the mystic poets of India whose couplets and hymns are sung up to this day by Indians, irrespective of their caste or creed

Page 25. *chapel* a Christian place of worship

*Fathers* a title given to a Roman Catholic priest

*the Gospels* the four narratives of the life of Christ contained in the New Testament

Page 26. *connoisseurs* men who know the arts thoroughly and are able to pass judgement on them

*Queen Elizabeth* one of the greatest queens that England has produced. Her reign has been a symbol of national prosperity. She was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn

Page 27. *East India Company* a chartered company formed in England in 1600 to trade with the East. For several years it ruled

over several parts of India till the Government of India was taken over by the Crown.

**Page 28.** *The Khyber Pass* : the gateway to India from the north-west. It is between India and Afghanistan

*Chand Bibi* : the most renowned warrior queen of India.

**Page 30.** *Shah Abbas* called the Great He was the King of Persia from 1586 to 1628 Persia under his rule attained an all-round prosperity

*Philip II* : he was the son of Charles V and the husband of Mary I He ruled over Spain from 1556 to 1598—one of the most magnificent of Spanish Emperors.

*Henry IV* : he was called Le Grand (the great) He was the first French king of the house of Bourbon (1553-1610) In the end he was assassinated.

## SIVAJI THE MARATHA

**Page 32.** *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata* . the two great epics of India. Any history of India will give the stories of these books.

**Page 33.** *Vithoba of Pandharpur* : Vithoba is thought to be another name for Krishna, one of the incarnations of God on this earth

*Amba Bhavani* : the Mother Bhavani She is thought to be like the Goddess Kali, the source of power.

*the Bhonsle family* one of the most renowned clans of the Rajputs. Sivaji was descended from this clan

**Page 34.** *Baji Prabhu* in Maratha history Baji Prabhu's exploit is as much extolled as the holding of the pass of Thermopylae under Leonidas

**Page 35.** *the Emperor Aurangzeb* : the last great Mogul Emperor He was an austere and devoted Muslim

**Page 38.** *Din! Din!* the battle-cry of the Muslims Din means religion here the religion of Islam It means the battle has to be fought to protect the faith.

*Har, Har, Mahadev* . the battle-cry of the Hindus Mahadev is the great god, Siva.

**Page 40.** *chhatrapati* the Lord of the Umbrella, which is a symbol of royalty

**Page 41.** *Prabhu* : one of the castes in the Maharashtra corresponding to the Kshatriyas.

*Mahar* a Harijan, a member of the so-called depressed class

*Ramdas* . one of the famous saints of Maharashtra, the guru of Sivaji.

## MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

**Page 42.** *the Emperor Jahangir* : son of Akbar the Great. He was married to Nur Jahan. The world knows him only as a romantic prince, but he was also an astute statesman

**Page 43.** *aigrette* : the plume of feathers often adorned with precious stones

**Page 45.** *Napoleon* . one of the greatest commanders that the world has known He was defeated in the Battle of Waterloo by the Duke of Wellington and imprisoned in the island of St Elba

Page 48. *Hindu Kush Mountains* . in the north-west of India.  
*Raja Dina Nath* . he was not a Rajput but a Kashmiri Brahmin.  
Page 49. *Rupar* on the banks of the Sutley in the Punjab  
Page 50. *Miss Eden* Miss Emily Eden's diary is worth reading.  
It has been published in the series, 'Oxford Bookshelf'

## . SIR SAIYID AHMED KHAN

Page 51. *Herat* a town in Afghanistan, famous for its carpets.  
*Emperor Alamgir II* . one of the Mogul Emperors during the last days of the Mogul Empire  
Page 52. *Munsif* one who administers justice  
Page 53. *Khillat* . a robe of honour.  
Page 54. *Lord Macaulay* the English historian who was for some time the Law Member in India It was he who drafted the Indian Penal Code  
Page 55. *Thomas Carlyle* one of the great English writers and thinkers who left his mark on the nineteenth century. His book, on *Heroes and Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, contains his lectures on great personalities such as Shakespeare He advocated hero-worship which ultimately leads to dictatorship  
Page 57. *Beck, Morrison and Arnold* Beck was the Principal of the college and a great administrator Morrison was an authority on the geography of India and Sir Thomas Arnold was a great Arabic and Persian scholar.

## MAHATMA GANDHI

(Assassinated on 30 January 1948)

Page 60. *the Inner Temple* one of the Inns of Court which students join in order to study law  
Page 61. *indenture* a written agreement or contract between two parties  
Page 62. *Johannesburg* one of the towns of the Transvaal, Union of South Africa  
*Natal* a state of the Union of South Africa  
*Ladysmith* in Natal.  
Page 64 *Ruskin* one of the great English writers of the nineteenth century, master of a splendid prose style  
*Tolstoy* a great Russian writer of the nineteenth century who is a world figure and whose novels and short stories are meant as much for instruction as for entertainment  
*Sermon on the Mount* The Sermon on the Mount is the simplest account of Jesus Christ's teachings See chapter V of the Gospel of St Matthew  
*the Jain creed* the Jain religion was founded by Mahavira Its cardinal principle is *Ahimsa*, non-injury  
Page 66. *Kaira* in Bihar  
Page 69 *The Prince of Wales* afterwards King Edward VIII who abdicated in 1936.

**Page 73.** *Romain Rolland* : one of the great French writers of the present century. He died on 2 January 1945. He wrote the lives of Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda and others, besides some novels.  
**Page 74.** *Brindisi* : a seaport in Italy.

## WINSTON CHURCHILL

**Page 79.** *Chancellor of the Exchequer* : the Minister of Finance of the United Kingdom.

*Cavalier* : a supporter of the King's party in the Civil War in England 1642-6

*The Duke of Marlborough* John Churchill (1650-1722) one of the greatest of English generals, famous in English History, for his victories at Blenheim, Ramilles, Oudernade and Malplaquet.

**Page 80.** *Society* : Society (with a Capital) means in England the members of families of noble birth, the highest society is that which include the king and his family. To this society of noblemen some merely rich and clever men are admitted.

*Sandhurst* : the world renowned military academy of England.

*Harrow* : one of the great public schools of England, where, for a long time, only the sons of the British aristocracy went for their education.

**Page 81.** *Hussars* : a distinguished British cavalry regiment. A hussar is a light-armed European cavalry soldier.

*Cuba* : the largest and the most populous island in the West Indies which has been a republic since 1902. Previously it was under Spanish control

**Page 82.** *Kitchener* : Horatio Herbert Kitchener, Earl Kitchener of Khartoum (1850-1916), a great British general whose death in the World War I has been a mystery all these years

*the Sudan* : a region of North Africa Its political future is a subject of controversy between Egypt and Great Britain

*Mahdi* : the spiritual and temporal leader of the Muslims expected by them to appear in the last days of the world. In recent years the name has been applied to some leaders of rebellion in the Sudan who have claimed to be the Mahdi

*Omdurman* : a town on the white Nile opposite Khartoum. In 1897 a battle was fought here between the English and the Sudanese, in which Kitchener's forces routed the latter

**Page 83.** *Boer* : a Dutch farmer of South Africa

*Botha* : Louis Botha (1862-1919), a Boer general and statesman, the first premier of the Union of South Africa

*Pretoria* : now the administrative capital of the Union of South Africa

**Page 85.** *Spion Kop* : Kop is the name of a hill or a mountain in South Africa

*Lord Roberts* : Frederick Sleigh (1832-1914), the first Earl, a famous British general.

**Page 87.** *Lord Rosebery* : Archibald Philip Primrose (1847-1929), the fifth Earl of Rosebery, a British statesman, orator and author

**Page 88. Lord Birkenhead** · Frederick Edwin Smith, the first Viscount of Birkenhead (1872-1930) who was for some years the Secretary of State for India

**David Lloyd George** a renowned British statesman who was the Prime Minister of England from 1916 to 1922 He led England to victory in the World War I Born in 1863 as a poor boy, he died in 1945 after a peerage had been conferred on him

**John Morley** · Viscount Morley of Blackburn (1838-1921), a British statesman and writer who was the Secretary of State for India for some time He was the author of the thought provoking book, *On Compromise*

**Page 90. Suffragette** a woman advocate of suffrage, especially one in England who agitated in order to secure for the women the right to vote

**Home Rule Bill** the Bill to grant self-government to Ireland.

**Home Secretary** the Secretary of State in charge of Home Affairs in Great Britain

**Page 92 Bleriot** Louis Bleriot (1872-1936), a French aviator and inventor who was the first to fly across the English Channel

**Page 93. entente cordiale** friendly understanding between nations and especially between England and France

**J B Haldane** a famous British philosopher, author and statesman

**Asquith** Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928), the first Earl of Oxford and Asquith, who was the Prime Minister of England from 1908-16

**Page 94 Admiralty** the office which controls naval affairs

**Jellicoe** Earl Jellicoe (1859-1935), a well-known British admiral

**Beatty** David Beatty, Earl Beatty (1871-1936), who commanded the Grand Fleet from 1916-19

**Lord Fisher** John Arbuthnot Fisher (1841-1920), a famous British admiral

**Page 98. the battle of the Marne** the battle which was fought near the river Marne in France in the World War I The German advance was decisively checked by the Allies on the Western Front

**Antwerp** the city and capital of Antwerp, a province in Belgium

**Page 99 Dardanelles** the Turkish strait between the Sea of Marmora and the Aegean Sea Its control is the subject of controversy between Russia and Turkey supported by Great Britain

**Gallipoli** a peninsula between the Dardanelles and the Aegean Sea

**Page 101. Baden-Powell** the founder of the Boy Scout movement An able British general, he won his fame in the war with the Boers

**Page 102. Foch** Ferdinand Foch (1851-1929), Marshal of France, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces on the Western Front in the World War I during the last years when the Allied armies command was unified under one commander for strategic reasons

**Page 103. the Kaiser** : Victor Albert Friedrich Wilhelm, King of Prussia and German Emperor from 1888 to 1918 He abdicated in 1918 after the defeat of the Germans

**Admiral Koltchak and General Denikin** they led the forces against the Bolshevik occupation of Russia in 1919

**Page 104 Lawrence** Thomas Edward Lawrence (1888-1935), British explorer, soldier and writer He was responsible for the Arab revolt against the Turks during the first World War.



Page 105. *Paris Salon* a fine arts exhibition in Paris

*Baldwin* Stanley Baldwin, Earl Baldwin (1867-1947), a British statesman who was Prime Minister in England for some years. He retired from politics after the Coronation of George VI and was a member of the House of Lords

Page 106. *the India Bill* now known as the Government of India Act of 1935. One of its main provisions was the grant of provincial autonomy

*the Abdication Crisis* the abdication of King Edward VIII because he wanted to marry an American divorcee. This the Tory Government in power disapproved and King Edward, now Duke of Windsor, was forced to give up the Crown

Page 109. *Mr Herbert Morrison* he is the leader of the House of Commons at present under the Labour Government. His work on the London County Council will be particularly remembered

*Sir Walter Citrine* one of the big leaders of the Trade Union movement in England at present

Page 110. *the catastrophe of Norway* the surprise occupation of Norway by Germany in 1940

Page 113. *the Atlantic Charter*: this summed up the aims of the Allied Nations in fighting against the Axis powers. It is a charter of human rights and gives a message of hope to subject nations.

## FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

(Died 12 April 1945)

Page 115. *the Mayflower* the vessel which brought the Pilgrim Fathers to the New World in 1620. They were the English religious Nonconformists who sailed from Holland and founded Plymouth colony, the first settlement in New England

Page 116. *Nova Scotia* the easternmost province of Canada

Page 119. *the Declaration of Independence* the document which declared the thirteen colonies of the U.S.A. free and independent states and absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown

Page 121. *County Council* something like an Indian municipality or corporation

Page 125. *League of Nations* an association of the nations of the world proposed at the Versailles Peace Conference, 1919, for the preservation of peace. It was Woodrow Wilson, President of the U.S.A. who first mooted the idea

Page 129. *Rocky Mountains* the extensive and lofty range in North America

*Herbert Hoover*: the thirty-first President of the U.S.A.

Page 130. *Ramsay MacDonald* (1866-1937), a British statesman and the Prime Minister of Great Britain from March-November 1924 and 1929-35

Page 134. *the White House* the official residence of the President of the U.S.A. at Washington.

Page 136. *mural painting* painting on a wall

Page 139. *Montevideo*: a seaport; the capital of Uruguay

*Pan-American* . relating to the western hemisphere It is something designed to promote friendship and closer relations among the republics of the western hemisphere

Page 145 *Mr Wendell Wilkie* . He will be long remembered as the author of *One World* In the early stages of World War II, along with President Roosevelt, he was an advocate for closer collaboration with the Allies in their fight against the Fascist struggle for power

Page 146 *Pearl Harbour* an islet in the Hawaiian Islands which is a United States naval base

Page 148. *George Washington* the first President of the United States, the hero and general of the American War of Independence

*Tom Paine* American writer, publicist and patriot (1737-1809) He wrote the book, *The Rights of Man*

## JOSEPH STALIN

Page 149. *Lennin* one of the greatest revolutionaries that the world has produced. He was a thinker, an organizer and a leader; a rare combination It was he who mainly conceived, planned and consolidated the Russian Revolution in 1917

*the Caucasus* a mountain range in Russia between Europe and Asia

Page 150 *Industrial Revolution* : the system under which handwork was replaced by production by the use of power-driven machinery with attendant changes in almost all phases of life

*Russian Orthodox Church* a modification of the Roman Catholic Church, more eastern than western It supported the Czar through thick and thin and was a limb of the State

Page 151 *Victor Hugo* (1802-1885), a French poet, dramatist and novelist of great power some of whose novels such as *Les Misérables* are world famous

*The Communist Manifesto* a concise clear statement of scientific socialism issued in 1848 by Marx and Engels and often called the Workers' Declaration of Independence

*Marx* Karl Marx (1818-1883), a German economist and writer and the founder of communism His theory of Surplus Value and of Dialectical Materialism and his interpretation of History have revolutionized human thought

*Engels* the collaborator of Marx in the revolutionary doctrines which he preached Author of *Anti-Dühring*

*French Revolution* in 1789 the French middle class with the help of the peasants revolted successfully against the tyranny of the aristocracy Its watchwords were liberty, fraternity and equality

*The Paris Commune* the government based on communistic principles which took possession of Paris in 1871

Page 155 *Iskra* literally means the spark

Page 160. *Stockholm* the capital city and seaport of Sweden

Page 161 *Pravda* the most influential paper in Russia at present

*Molotov* Till lately the Foreign Minister of the U S S R

*Cracow* . a city situated on the Vistula river in Poland

Page 163. *Soviet* . a representative council of workers, soldiers and peasants in the bolshevik form of government.

*Trotsky* : a great revolutionary leader and at one time the Foreign Minister in the Soviet Union. He was expelled from the Communist party for his anti-bolshevik activities and was murdered when he was in exile by an unknown person.

Page 165. *Treaty of Versailles* . at Versailles, 12 miles from Paris, a treaty was signed with Germany in June, 1919. Its conditions were humiliating and impracticable for Germany. They were imposed because France wanted to guard against future aggression. Unfortunately its effect was the reverse. Not only the Germans resented the terms and the Nazi Party fully encouraged this resentment but the justice-loving peoples of Europe felt the need for revision.

*Vladivostok* . a city and seaport of Eastern Russia in Asia

Page 166. *The Order of the Red Banner* . a high military distinction in Russia

*Communism* . it is a theory of government according to which all means of production and distribution are publicly owned and operated. It hopes to build a classless society.

*Mussolini* the Italian dictator whose rise was phenomenal but whose death at the hands of an assassin was so abject. He was responsible for the bombing of defenceless Abyssinians in 1935 and for stabbing France in the back in 1940

Page 167. *the Urals* . a mountain range in Russia between Europe and Asia.

Page 169. *temperamental* highly emotional.

Page 170. *Robespierre* . one of the leaders of the French Revolution who was executed in the end for betraying the revolution.

*Danton* . a French statesman and leader in the revolution in France. He was guillotined in the end

Page 171. *mon ami* . dear man, a form of address in familiar conversation

*Fifth Columnists* traitors or treacherous persons who betray their country. The phrase gained currency in the Spanish Civil War of 1936

*Vichy* . the head-quarters of the French Government, under Marshall Petain, which surrendered to Hitler in 1940

Page 174. *Peter the Great* . the Czar of Russia from 1682 to 1725. It was he who established real contact between Russia and Europe.

Page 176. *Ribbentrop* one of the leaders of the Nazi party in Germany. He was the Foreign Minister in Germany during the last eight years of the Nazi regime.

*Ogre* . a man-eating giant

Page 178. *Bluebeard* . a cruel tyrant and wife-murderer in Perraults' fairy tale.

## CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Page 180. *Lin Yutang* : a living Chinese novelist and essayist who has done a great deal to interpret China to the English-speaking peoples

Page 183. *Macao* the Portuguese colony and a seaport city, situated on the estuary of Canton river.

